

# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXIII

TORONTO, JUNE, 1942

No. 2

## HAVE THE AMERICAS A COMMON HISTORY?

THIS symposium of papers was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 29 last, in a session devoted to the general subject of "The History of the Americas." The contributors are Professor William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee; Professor George W. Brown, The University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada; Professor Edmundo O'Gorman, The University of Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico; Señor German Arciniegas, Ministro de Educacion, Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, Bogotá, Colombia. The papers have been printed in the order in which they were read. [EDITOR'S NOTE]

### I

#### A UNITED STATES VIEW

THE fact that the general topic for discussion in this session is stated in the form of a question suggests that we are seeking an answer without knowing in advance what that answer will be. If this be the case, our question becomes nothing more than a working hypothesis whose validity we, as historians, must undertake to test; and so long as we proceed on that basis it makes little difference whether our tentative assumption is an affirmative or a negative answer. Our method must be that of examining the facts, not merely as isolated incidents or events, but as part of the process of social development, for it is generally agreed that "historical facts are those which form a part of that great stream of interrelation which is Time," and that the historical attitude consists in seeing things in their relation to others, both in space and in time. At every stage of our procedure, however, we must treat our tentative answer as the hypothesis inviting free investigation, and must not let it become a fixed theory which will control the investigation. By doing this, of course, we shall probably come to the close of the discussion without having arrived at a final

answer, but if in the course of the discussion we succeed in raising questions and offering suggestions which must be considered in any attempt to find the answer, we will have fulfilled the primary purpose of this session.

Before we can proceed with our investigation it is perhaps advisable to examine the implications of the question itself. This need not mean a definition of terms. We know what we mean by "the Americas," and in this case it seems clear that we are using the term "history" not so much in the professional sense of a record or narrative of past events as in the popular sense of the events themselves, or the sequence of experiences of the past. But when we ask the question, "Have the Americas a common history?" do we mean to imply that if we find any differences we rule out all possibility of finding any past experiences or interests which have been shared by the Americas? The simplest rules of logic, as well as the human experience out of which such rules have evolved, require us to admit that individuals and groups may have had much in common in their past without having had an identical past. Thus we cannot hope to establish the absence of a common history simply by showing that there have been important differences in the past experiences of the American peoples; we would have to show that none of their past experiences can be considered as common experiences. It must be obvious at once that this is no simple task.

But there is a somewhat broader implication in our general question, which should not be overlooked. If we put the question back into the context of the developments out of which it arose, there is reason to believe that the term "a common history" is intended to refer to the possibility of presenting a synthetic view of the past experiences of all the Americas as distinguished from a particularistic view of the past of each individual American nation. As you know, this possibility was suggested in its most definite form by Professor Herbert E. Bolton in his presidential address before this Association nine years ago.<sup>1</sup> To quote one commentator, that address "presents in broad synthesis the panorama of Western Hemisphere history as a whole, cutting across national boundaries and pointing out unities, contrasts, and interrelations between the different portions of the Continent." Despite the profound impression made by the address, the validity of such a synthesis has not been universally acknowledged by historians,

<sup>1</sup>Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America" (*American Historical Review*, XXXVIII, April, 1933, 448-74).

either in this country or in Latin America; and it is out of the resulting discussions that our present question has arisen. It might be said in passing that a careful examination of these discussions seems to leave the impression that the chief difficulty lies in the failure of the critics to understand that a synthesis does not necessarily tie the nations themselves together into a unified system, but that it is concerned, instead, with presenting a comprehensive view of the similarities, contrasts, and interrelations of their past experiences as a means of providing a basis for a clearer understanding of the local or national history of each of them.

This brings us to a third possible implication of our question. Does the suggestion that the Americas may possess something in common imply the existence of a composite unity in which the various American nations are bound together by political, or economic, or cultural interests, or perhaps by all three? It is obvious, of course, that no such unity exists in a corporate sense, but unless we can demonstrate the absence of any community of interests in present-day America we must admit the possibility of its existence in a less tangible form. And if it does exist in any form it at least suggests the presence of common interests in the past—that is, of a common history.

Actually, however, these possible implications do not present three distinct problems, and when considered in their relation to each other they form the basis of procedure for testing the validity of our hypothesis. Thus if our answer to the general question is to be negative, we must show that the American nations have not had any common interests or experiences in the past; that it is not possible to present a synthetic view of American development; and that nothing in the present-day interests of the Americas brings them closer to each other than to the rest of the world. In attempting to do this we must, of course, recognize the fact that neither differences nor similarities alone can give the answer. We must examine both and must try to see their effects upon each other as well as upon the Americas as a whole.

Any cursory examination of the sequence of past events in the Western Hemisphere reveals what seem to be fundamental differences in background, experiences, and concepts. The work of colonization was carried out by individual European powers, for the most part in competition with each other. Differences in motives and differences in methods are too well known to require elaboration here. Spaniards and Portuguese, Frenchmen and Englishmen brought their own concepts and loyalties—economic, religious,

and political—and these were not effaced by the new environment. Differences in the stage of advancement of the native races in various parts of the New World contributed toward further diversities in matters of policy and administration. That the colonial experience can hardly be said to have established either unity or uniformity for the Americas, would seem to be demonstrated by the lack of concerted action in their struggles for independence.

But this is only one side of the coin. A careful examination of the other side seems to bring to light equally fundamental similarities, and possibly even common experiences and interests during the colonial and revolutionary period. In the first place, all of the American colonies sprang from the broad background of Western European civilization just as Europe was completing the transition from the medieval to the modern order, and each of them reflected the influence of the general heritage as well as the peculiar characteristics of the mother country. Professor Bolton has pointed out, for example, that the Spanish *encomienda*, the Portuguese *capitania*, the French *seigniory*, the Dutch *patroon*, and the English proprietary grant were all survivals of feudalism in slightly varying forms. It might be added that mercantilism itself was not the private property of any particular colonizing power, but was a European concept which each of them sought to apply to its own advantage.

In the second place, all went through the process of adjusting European concepts and institutions to the New World environment. Because of distance from the mother country, and more especially because the contact with a vast region whose resources and people might be exploited created hopes and expectations which had no influence on the members of the Old World communities, the colonists who came to America became mentally unlike their kindred who remained in Europe. Thus, while they were transplanting European civilization to America, they were also adapting its political and social institutions to a new set of conditions, and in doing so were perhaps laying a basis for the development of an American society. It is not possible at this time, of course, to go through the whole range of American colonial history to consider how the details of the adjustments were actually worked out, but it is interesting to note that as the generation of immigrants gradually gave place to a preponderance of native Americans of European ancestry the demand for such adjustments became more insistent. Whether we consider Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, or the Antequera rebellion in Paraguay, or the revolt of the *comun-*

*eros* in New Granada, we find that—whatever may have been their differences—American resentment against hardships imposed by, or special privileges granted to, the ruling European element constituted one of the most important contributing factors in each case.

The climax of this development came in the series of revolutionary movements of the half-century from 1776 to 1826, in which all the European colonies in America were involved. If we look at the fundamental cause and the general result of this movement, instead of concentrating on the absence of concerted action or on differences between English and Spanish and Portuguese methods, we may find indications of similar interests. All of them were concerned with the breaking of European control over American political and economic affairs, and in the end they accomplished this either through revolution and the establishment of complete independence or through evolution and the attainment of autonomy. We must be careful, however, to keep in mind the fact that while the colonial and revolutionary experience may be said to have set the Americas apart from Europe, it had not necessarily given them a common American interest.

When we turn to a consideration of the period since the conclusion of the revolutionary movements, it is easy, of course, to see the differences. The immediate political aftermath of that struggle saw thirteen former English colonies combining to form the United States of America; four former Spanish vice-royalties breaking up into sixteen distinct units; the former Portuguese colony remaining intact as the empire of Brazil; and Canada, representing a merging of loyalist Englishmen with former French subjects, eschewing independence to begin its progress toward self-governing dominion status. As we try to follow the kaleidoscopic pattern through the past hundred years, we find federal republics, unitary republics, empires, dictatorships, and extreme individualism. We find widely varying degrees of progress toward stability and order, with the resultant internal and international jealousies and suspicions. And as a few relatively strong states emerge, we find each of them manifesting a definite tendency to develop along its own lines and thus to emphasize differences.

But during that same period the American states were also developing interests and interrelationships that suggest common or similar ideals and experiences. All of them undertook to set up a more democratic form of government, although their methods of working toward that ideal were not always the same. All have

promoted the concept of peaceful settlement of disputes, despite the fact that it has not always brought peaceful relations. They have participated in a long series of periodic inter-American conferences devoted to the consideration of American problems, common or otherwise. And all of them have shown concern in varying degrees over any threat, either supposed or real, of European political interference in the Western Hemisphere.

It seems clear from this hasty survey that any attempt to answer our question on the basis of either differences or similarities is beside the point. We have both, and our problem becomes that of obtaining the proper perspective to understand their relative importance in the whole course of the American development. Naturally, the adequacy of our perspective will depend upon the vantage point from which we view the scene. To use a somewhat hackneyed analogy, if we are in the forest we can see only the trees; if on an eminence we may see the forest; and if in an aeroplane we may look down upon the entire landscape in which the forest has its setting. Just as we need the aeroplane view to enable us to appreciate more fully the relative place of forest and field, or mountain and plain, or road and stream, in this panorama, so must we try to obtain a comprehensive view of the pattern which is America before we can hope to see the complete meaning of the innumerable events and experiences of the past which, taken together, make up that pattern.

To suggest the possibility of such a view is not necessarily to claim that there is an American civilization. This would make our panorama either all forest or all field. It would be more accurate to say that there is a grouping of cultures in America, sufficiently related to fit into a single view but at the same time possessing characteristics sufficiently different to provide the lights and shades of that view. We have Spanish America, Portuguese America, and English America, with a vestige of French America running like an almost invisible stream through all three. The perfectly obvious fact that all four of the distinguishing adjectives modify the noun "America" not only establishes the vantage point for obtaining our comprehensive view but also suggests the common ground, and thus furnishes the key for determining the relative importance of the similarities and differences.

Our aeroplane view of the whole American scene discloses a variegated pattern whose many colours suggest diversity of origin and yet do not destroy the appearance of relationship between the principal figures. While some features seem, at first glance, to

stand out in sharp contrast, the complete effect of the picture is obtained by giving closer attention to the lights and shades which harmonize these contrasts with the common environment. In the marginal area between Spanish and English America, for example, there appears a blending of cultures, expressed in terms of law, language, architecture, and tradition. Similarly, Canada is neither English nor French, but is the product of the intermingling of the two cultures. The appearance of similar conditions along the periphery of Brazil, where Spanish and Portuguese influences meet, would seem to suggest that the various border zones may hold the key to the ultimate American culture.

But the pattern also contains other lights and shades, by means of which the varied hues of individual events and broad movements or correlative differences and similarities are placed in their proper setting. By examining some of these against the comprehensive background we may be able to gain a clearer conception of their relative importance in the picture. It seems safe to say, for example, that the planting of colonies by individual European powers was less important than the fact that all of them were transplanting European concepts and institutions in the New World. It is possible, also, that the local differences in colonial policy and administration are overshadowed by the general problem of adaptation to the American environment. Inasmuch as the individual struggles for independence were successful, it would be difficult to show that the lack of concerted action was as significant as the fact that all were based on opposition to continued European control in America, and that the result was the creation of American nations.

At the risk of making this list too long, we must extend our examination into the national period. Here we find that the wide variety in the forms of government established seems less important than the fact that all were concerned with obtaining the permanent values of democracy, and that rivalry and wars between individual states are less important than the general promotion of the principle of arbitration. The survival of four different European languages in America has not prevented common support of the Pan American Union and the participation of all in the Pan American conferences. The individual efforts to further their own economic and political advancement seem less important than the fact that the World War did not divide them into opposing camps. And while the historian cannot speak with complete assurance about the present, it seems reasonable to say that even the accumulation of all their differences, as expressed in suspicions, jealousies,

and misunderstandings, has not been strong enough to overcome their desire to maintain and promote hemisphere solidarity in the present world crisis.

This is by no means a complete picture, but if the selections are representative and if the associations are valid it becomes clear that when analogous similarities and differences are considered against the broad background of American development the similarities seem to stand out more prominently than do the differences. It is possible that the real contribution of the differences has been the creation of the individualities, while the similarities provide the basis on which these individualities may develop common interests. Thus, whatever may have been the immediate effect of those differences, it seems safe to say that instead of destroying all possibility of finding common interests they actually form an essential part of the broad process in which the individual American nations and cultures have gone through experiences and developed interests that are fundamentally common to the Americas as a whole. Whether these common experiences and interests have brought about a distinct American civilization, it is not yet possible to say; but they do mean the existence of common traditions, and they do establish a basis for a "History of the Americas."

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## II

### A CANADIAN VIEW

IN a discussion so broad as that suggested in our topic it is inevitable—and desirable—that the papers should suggest different approaches to the theme. One approach is that which compares the cultural developments of various parts of the Americas in an attempt to determine whether from a variety of European origins there is being created some common type or pattern. Coming as I do from a country where two cultural strains have been intermingled for one hundred and eighty years and where others in lesser proportion have been added by later immigration, I would be one of the last to minimize the importance of this approach. Indeed I beg leave to request that as this discussion goes on it should not be forgotten that Latin American culture is not wholly

confined to the region south of the Rio Grande. A segment of it with a history stretching back over three centuries is found on the lower St. Lawrence.

I have chosen, however, another approach than the cultural in the short time at my disposal. It seems to me to have significance at the present time. The paper which I am about to read was written in September. The events of the past three weeks have not disposed me to alter it.

The continent is "indissoluble" wrote Whitman as he ranged through the vast stretch of rivers and lakes, forests, farm lands and prairies from the Saguenay to the Rockies. Sixty years later the historian cannot but underwrite the essential truth of that poetic judgment. North America—the Americas—*have* a common history. But how then shall we explain and interpret its apparent anomalies? How shall we sift out its essentials?

For Canada these anomalies run like a red thread through the very texture of the last hundred and fifty years. Canada has come to nationhood by a process which seems to mark her off in sharp contrast from her American neighbours. They won independence through revolution, casting off at a stroke European control, monarchy, and the shackles of mercantilism. Their national traditions have centred around these triumphant struggles for freedom. Canada's tradition contains no such struggle; she has gained nationhood through a century of evolution and at times it seems to have been not so much won as thrust upon her. Mercantilism in the first decades of the nineteenth century was for her not a chafing burden but a stimulus and a bond of empire—a "hot-bed" to use Burke's phrase for the staples on which her prosperity rested. The first long step towards autonomy—the winning of responsible government as it is termed in Canadian history—far from being a repudiation of British practices was an admission in colonial government of the principles of the cabinet system, the most distinctively British device in the whole range of constitutional government. The winning of responsible government a century ago was neither a colonial victory nor a British defeat. It was the triumph of both British and colonial reformers over conservatism, reaction, and timidity on both sides of the Atlantic. It marked the passing of the old colonial system, and looked forward not to separation but to an empire infused with a new spirit and held together by a new principle.

The acceptance of responsible government was essentially an

act of faith on the part of that small minority who really believed in it, for they staked everything on the assumption that the real bonds between British America and Britain were not those relations which could be defined within the covers of a statute book, but were the intangibles and imponderables of common interests, economic, political, and cultural, which could not be weighed and measured.

These are the ties [said Burke] which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, they will cling and grapple to you. . . . Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. . . . Freedom they can have from none but you. . . . Do not entertain so weak an imagination, as that your registers and your sufferances, your coquets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of the mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are. . . . All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together.

Burke's faith, affirmed in these immortal words, was the faith of those who believed that responsible government was a cementing, not a disrupting, principle. Working itself out through all the variations of economic and political change, the spirit and practice of responsible government transformed the empire. Autonomy through co-operation, freedom through evolution—these became the pole-stars of imperial policy at its best, and in spite of back-slidings and inconsistencies the course of the empire's development followed them. So the ancient British principle of respect for the rights of the individual as an individual was by inexorable logic extended into respect for the rights of the colonies as colonies.

These cementing principles, to use again Burke's phrase, are to be seen in the central episode of Canada's national development—the Confederation of 1867. Confederation was achieved, not in opposition to British policy but in the end with the aid of British policy and through a combination of forces running strongly on both sides of the Atlantic. So too with the extension of the Dominion westward to the Pacific. Canada gained a western

empire—the vast domain of the Hudson's Bay Company—because she herself was part of an empire.

This is the paradox of Canadian history—nationhood emerging not through revolution and separation but through the mingling of two opposing elements—autonomy and co-operation. Its supreme illustration may, in the judgment of the future, be Canada's entrance into the present war. Without hesitation she ranged herself at Britain's side in a deadly struggle whose immediate origins were European, but her manner of doing so was an affirmation—the clearest in her history—that she had attained the stature of nationhood and assumed its full responsibilities. The decision to declare war was made on September 9, 1939, by the Parliament of Canada, and on the following day, precisely one week after Britain's entry into the conflict, King George VI as King of Canada, acting on the advice of his Canadian ministers, announced that Canada was at war. This historic decision, the most momentous it may be in Canada's history, marked the culmination of a process which had spanned a century.

To emphasize this paradox of autonomy coupled with imperial co-operation is not to deny that there have been cross-currents of friction and misunderstanding. Canadian historians have traced them with minute care in following the growth of autonomy, but as yet they have largely neglected the more baffling and more comprehensive task of trying to understand the compelling tendencies toward co-operation which have dominated Canadian policy at every period of real crisis. No, the paradox is not an anomaly. It is the very stuff of which Canadian history is made.

But if we accept this paradox, with all its implications—a paradox which seems to contradict the pattern of national growth in every other American country—how shall we accept the affirmation with which this paper began, that the Americas have a common history? It is not enough to say that Canadian culture, institutions, and habits of living have American elements. No one would deny that. But today another standard of judgment forces itself upon us. Every great age in history has its central issue. Ours is the problem of a world order, and that problem is the touchstone to which at this moment every consideration must be brought.

Canada in entering the war responded to forces that have flowed deeply through her history. Are these forces alien to the rest of America or are they not?—that is the question. It is my deep conviction that they are not. "Canada," said Premier King, speaking in the heart of war-scarred London, "is a nation of the new

world." It was as a nation of the New World that she threw down the gage of battle. She was never more American than when she did so, and two years of war have confirmed her in that belief.

What then are the forces which run so deeply through the history of the Americas that they resolve the paradox which seems to separate Canada and her neighbours? They are the common interests which the American nations north and south have in the Atlantic world. For over three hundred years the Americas have shared in its creation. It is the framework within which by varying processes and at different times we have all grown from colonialism to maturity. It has been an essential element in our history, and yet for the most part we have ignored the fact of its existence.

The Atlantic unites, it does not merely divide, and from the beginnings of our colonial development this has been so. No fallacy in our thinking has been more appalling in its consequences than our failure to assess the implications of this truism. The revolutions which broke political ties with Europe profoundly affected, but did not destroy, the infinite network of relationships, economic and cultural, which made the Atlantic world. Always, therefore, running through American history, there have been the contradictory elements of separation from, and association with, Europe. Canada's paradox of autonomy and co-operation is not un-American; it is the American experience in a unique form.

But why are we only now becoming conscious of the Atlantic world? Precisely because it is passing through a revolutionary change. The Atlantic world of the nineteenth century is disappearing, has disappeared—a new order is in the making, and whether we like it or not we of the Americas must have a share in determining its guiding principles.

We had a share in the old order, though we scarcely knew it—our responsibilities were so light that we had no sense of compulsion. That order of the nineteenth century was the Pax Britannica, and though it was neither a Pax, nor Britannica, it was a reality. It stretched beyond the Atlantic basin and in a sense embraced the world. Let me quote an American definition and description of it. Harold and Margaret Sprout write in their book, *Toward a New Order of Sea Power* (Princeton, 1940): This Pax Britannica, "fostered and was then [in 1890] still supporting a world economy that approached the dimensions of political sovereignty and a world order" (p. ix). And again, "London became the business and financial center of an economic community which eventually embraced not only the British Empire but also many

politically independent countries in several continents. . . . The combined power of fleets and finance enabled British statesmen to wield an influence abroad which approached, though it never quite attained, the dimensions of sovereignty and a world order" (p. 274).

The "stupid" Englishman, with that inspired stupidity which enrages his enemies and baffles his friends, seemed never quite to understand the order which he did so much to create. He issued no blue prints of it, never attempted to force on the world a regimented acceptance of it, and never even worked out its principles to a logical conclusion. True to its character, it was full of inconsistencies: freedom of trade it had, but not full free trade; parliamentary government, but applied by each nation in its own way; respect for the rights of nations as nations, but never a fully organized system of international co-operation based on the principles of national sovereignty.

This was the order in which we of the Americas grew to national maturity. It was a kindly order, and as we look back on it we can see that with all its anomalies it went far in its time toward a solution of that age-old problem which has vexed mankind in so many forms—the harmonizing of liberty and law.

What were the sanctions of the *Pax Britannica*?—for every political order, even a quasi-one, must have its sanctions. Characteristically they were tangled and pragmatic, not systematized and formal. Nevertheless they were there, and chief among them was the British navy's command of the seas. This was, to quote Mr. and Mrs. Sprout once more, "the historic balance wheel of the vast, intricate, and swiftly moving machinery of that advantageous world economic community and quasi-political order which British sea power had fostered and supported."

For the Americas the British navy was a guarantee of stability in the Atlantic world—a first line of defence against any European threat which would menace the integrity or freedom of American nations. Such was the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823—it was in essence bilateral, Britain and the United States guaranteeing the permanence of the American revolutions in the face of reactionary Europe. Through the Monroe Doctrine the young American nations got essentially the same protection which Canada had through her connection with the Empire. Let it not be thought that I am suggesting that Britain was moved by some kind of doctrinaire altruism. Far from it—doctrinaire altruism does no

one good in the long run. She was acting in her own interest, but it was by and large in the interest also of the Americas.

This fundamental identity of British and American interests in maintaining control of the Atlantic against the threat of any hostile power, while often obscured by superficial differences, has never been far below the surface. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," wrote Jefferson in an oft-quoted pronouncement, "fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." "With the British navy combined with our own," wrote Madison, "we have nothing to fear from the rest of the world; and in the great struggle of the epoch between liberty and despotism, we owe it to ourselves to sustain the former, in this hemisphere at least."

To Great Britain and the United States [wrote Mahan], if they rightly estimate the part they may play in the great drama of human progress, is entrusted a maritime interest, in the broadest sense of the word, which demands as one of the conditions of its exercise and its safety, the organized force adequate to control the general course of events at sea; to maintain, if necessity arise, not arbitrarily but as between those in whom interest and power alike justify the claim to do so, the laws that shall regulate maritime warfare. This is no mere speculation, resting upon a course of specious reasoning, but is based on the teaching of the past.

It was this fundamental identity of interests—the necessity with Britain of controlling the Atlantic and the destiny of the Atlantic world—that brought the United States and the Americas into the war of 1914-18. The obscuring of this fact—the failure to recognize its implications—was one of the appalling misfortunes of the post-war period.

Today the same fundamental identity of interests is teaching its unanswerable lesson. When France collapsed and the eastern bastions of the Atlantic world as we had known it seemed crumbling beyond repair, when invasion of Britain and the destruction or capture of the British fleet were stark possibilities, an intuitive realization of common danger swept over the people of these continents. For the first time since 1823 we are literally threatened with the danger described in Monroe's message—the danger that a hostile system will be extended to this hemisphere. The Battle of the Atlantic, and the Atlantic Declaration, are answers to that threat just as were the union of British and American interests when Monroe issued his historic pronouncement a century and a quarter ago.

The first of Mahan's books on the influence of sea power, published in 1890, appeared, as great books have a way of doing, at a turning point in history. The peculiar set of circumstances which had made possible Britain's unrivalled naval power was on the eve of change. The creation of navies elsewhere, inventions and changes in warfare such as the submarine and the aeroplane—these and other circumstances marked, as we can see in retrospect, the end of one epoch, the beginning of another,—the epoch in which we live. The Pax Britannica was destined to pass but what was to replace it? Could its essential principles be merged and projected into a new world order—a world order still preserving that balance between law and liberty which marked the Pax Britannica at its best, and still affirming that respect for the right of the individual nation which at bottom rests on respect for the right of the individual man? Or would it give way to a Pax Germanica based on fallacious theories of blood and race, and exalting brute force to the level of a moral principle? Or were we to have hemispheres organizing and regimenting themselves in preparation for conflict on a scale which baffles our imagination? Today, fifty years after these questions began to pose themselves, we face them unavoidably. The twentieth century demands that they be answered. In relation to them the Americas *have* a common history—a history which challenges them to a common responsibility.

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### III

#### A MEXICAN VIEW

*History which generalizes is history which falsifies* (Antonio Caso).

IT has been asked whether or not the Americas have a common history. To answer, it will undoubtedly be necessary to question the facts and then allow them to tell us the truth, because they alone contain it. However, some initial and introductory reflections will not be out of place.

First, note that the question already implies in its very enunciation, the individual existence of the two Americas. If we accept the problem, it will be necessary to accept as well its implications. That is to say, we admit that the two Americas exist as distinct

worlds, as two realities. This acceptance rests upon the immediate fact of our observation, and is not merely a logical implication of the statement of the problem. That the two Americas exist as distinct and separate realities, is patent. Hence this investigation is reduced to a search for the principle or cause which has made the two Americas present themselves to us in reality as two different entities.

Now, the question before us is whether or not these two worlds have a common history. But the question is no sooner formulated than the faint light of suspicion appears. Do not the two Americas present themselves to us in reality as two distinct worlds, precisely because their history is distinct? Is not history their source of individuality? Or, in other terms, may it not perhaps be true that these two American worlds have no further entity than that of their history; that their history constitutes and defines them; that their history is their being?

In fact, that is my belief. Anglo-America and Latin America are what they are, because their history is what it is. The matter is very clear and simple, but I am not to blame for that. I shall have the right to exact of anyone who may not agree, that he tell me what are the two Americas, and that he do so without recourse to any description or historical narration. This undertaking, however, seems impossible to me. The two American worlds are historical entities. They are not abstract entities. They are not things endowed with a fixed and static being. The two Americas are concrete realities whose changing and variable being is the very history which has formed and which constitutes them. Let it not be said, then, that the Americas have history; rather, say that they are history. But if the Americas are history, we shall have to agree that their history, that is to say their being, is not a common and single history, because we should be denying the obvious. If the history of the two Americas were common, what we call the two Americas would not exist.

There are those who, by surrendering completely to a teleological view of history, wish to construct a definite synthesis from the historical facts of the American continent. They try to form a conception of the historical structure of the continent, arbitrarily violating those facts, by forcing them into the preconceived mould of a "common history." They suppose it to be only possible to conceive of the continental historical structure if the facts of Anglo-American life balance those of Latin-American life, and so, with no further ado, they hunt for resemblances and begin a sifting away

of differences. Once their arbitrary task is done, they raise, more or less brilliantly according to their personal literary talent, the image of a single America—a mutilated America, according to my belief. But this method is radically false.

I am the first to believe that the time has come to go beyond the nationalistic view of history in America, because I also believe that the time has come to go beyond nationalities themselves; but that is enormously far from believing that the historical life of Anglo-America is essentially identical with that of Latin America.

The followers of the thesis of the "common history" seek the greatest number—note the quantitative concept—of similar traits in order to establish identity, and they consider every difference as though it were some unimportant residue, without reflecting that a single one of those differences can be decisive. Let us not lose this golden rule from sight: among the most dissimilar things it is always possible to find similarities. But these tell nothing. What is important for knowledge is to emphasize the differences which actually reveal reality to us—the individual, concrete, and peculiar reality of the comparison.

Moreover, this mathematical method applied to history, which is human life, suffers from a very grave error of perspective. The seeker for similarities judges the facts of the past from the point of view in which he, the spectator, is situated and in conformity with the index of preferences valid for him and for the epoch in which he lives. For that reason his vision of history is teleological; he supposes that in the past the world in which he, the spectator, now finds himself was predetermined and that its preferences have always been the same, in every epoch. It will seem to him that past facts, in truth dissimilar, are similar in their teleology, and he will believe that certain traits are essential when in truth they may very well be secondary or even non-existent for the life and period which he so arbitrarily judges. He commits not only an error, but an injustice. He deprives the vital process of its liberty, imposing from without the chains of an arbitrary finality. For example, he may think that the spirit which animated the primitive colonizers of North America is, because of its finality, exactly the same as that which animated the conquerors of Mexico, because during the course of time the United States and Mexico adopted the Republican, federal, democratic form of government. Or he will think that fundamental in the Spanish colonization in America is the economic factor, simply because that factor seems to him to be fundamental in the historic process.

But let us examine some of the similarities which have been adduced as the basis of "the great unities manifest in American history",<sup>1</sup> those unities out of which men have attempted to construct continental history.

They begin by conceiving the discovery of America as a uniform fact, identical for the whole hemisphere, and they emphasize in the phenomenon the consideration of a European expansion. But how false this vision of the great event turns out to be! To speak in this way of the discovery of America is an abstract, more or less romantic, interpretation of a series of events of diverse character and distinct meaning. The discovery in the north is radically different from the discovery of Columbus. In a mechanistic or naturalistic concept of history, one is considered as the cause of the other; but the historical truth is that it is a question of two distinct realities. This will be clearly seen simply by noting that the voyage realized by Columbus is a composite event, which appears in the transit from the Middle Ages to the Modern Period, but which by its physiognomy is more a medieval than a modern phenomenon. When we read the primitive Columbian documents we are the ones who discover that Columbus discovered America; he, Columbus, only linked up the loose end left trailing in space by the medieval voyage of Marco Polo.

But the real differences between the two Americas become ever more acute. It has been said that great unity exists in the colonial systems of Latin America and of Anglo-America, because their similarities are more notable than their differences. Let us see. It seems that these similarities are: (a) identical mercantile aims, that is to say, exploitation of the colonies for the benefit of the colonizing peoples; (b) establishment of governments of the contemporary European type, adapted to the American scene; (c) general slavery of the Negroes; (d) exploitation of the work of the natives; and (e) mixture of races.

Much could be said with respect to the truth of such similarities. For me, they exist only as superficial abstractions. In fact, note that those supposed similarities belong, in their essential traits, in the picture of all colonization, American or otherwise. This means that they are not at all a peculiar and concrete part of the history of the two Americas, but rather notes that describe the abstract formula designated by the name of "colonization." The reality, the historical and exact truth, is not the general and

<sup>1</sup>Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America" (*American Historical Review*, XXXVIII, April, 1933, 448-74).

abstract fact of the slavery of the Negroes, the exploitation of the work of the natives, and the mixing of races, but the form in which these things occurred and the way in which they were put into effect within the system of convictions and beliefs at that time valid.

Now, Anglo-American colonization is separated and distinguished from that of Latin America precisely by the fact that each one develops within systems of convictions and beliefs that are very different and even contradictory. The difference in systems of convictions and beliefs is the very origin of the existence of the two Americas as historically distinct worlds. The decisive aspect of the situation, is not—as is usually considered—to be found in ethnic differences between Anglo-Saxons and Hispanic-Latin, but in the difference coming from the very peculiar historical situation in which these two European groups find themselves in the very concrete and peculiar moment in which the New World appears on the scene of Christian culture. Thought that wishes to explain all the differences between the two American worlds by means of the purely racial, animal, biological factor, is monstrous. I believe that if we do not consider the accident of America, from its very origin, in a union of mutual interdependence with that other, greater accident which is the advent of the Modern World, we shall never be able to apprehend one or the other in their reality.

Very well. But the advent of the Modern World is neither more nor less than the appearance of a new system of convictions and beliefs, different from the system which was previously accepted and held valid. It is not a new theory, a new idea, or a new philosophy. It is something more profoundly vital. It is a new faith. Faith in Reason. Reason becomes converted into the supreme value, the supreme instance of life. But this new faith conflicts with the old faith, and this causes a tremendous lack of harmony in the bosom of Christendom. In this lack of harmony is synthesized the dramatic moment of the transit from the Medieval World to the Modern World. It is highly important to keep firmly in mind this great adventure of Christian culture if one wishes to understand completely the historical structure of America. It was the destiny of Spain to be converted into the defender of the ancient faith; England, in the political sphere, quickly became converted into the standard bearer of the new. The whole vision of the world changes, and also there is a change in man's concept of himself. On the historical scene, the new man

makes his entrance—the new Adam, armed with that new magic which is called experimental science. Sir Francis Bacon is no casual phenomenon in the history of English philosophical thought. Domination of nature and the utilization of hitherto unused cosmic forces, was the vital new project. Europe hurls herself unrestrainedly along these new roads, and Spain, the champion of old values, is left behind. This is the deep meaning of what the historians call, without understanding, the decadence of Spain. It is astonishing to hear that decadence spoken of as a consequence of certain economic, administrative, or racial factors. Remember that the attitude of Spain in that epoch has in itself no decadence; on the contrary, it is vigorous and heroic.

It is in the crossing made by the clash of the two opposing forces that we must locate the origins of the two American worlds, and it is there where we must go to seek the essential peculiarities of each. America is born in the midst of discord; hence there are two distinct and historically opposed Americas. This is the basic idea in any complete understanding of the great difference between the colonial systems of Latin America and Anglo-America.

Spain deposited, cultivated, and developed in one part of the western hemisphere a repertory of values, a type of life, a system of convictions and beliefs which correspond to the peculiar situation which she occupied in European destiny at the moment when modern man made his appearance in the drama of universal history. On the other hand, other peoples, and finally England, sowed in another portion of the continent the seed of modern man, dominant and powerful, the man more vitally valuable for the continuation of life and of culture.

These two American worlds—more the work of man than of God, as one writer has said—have followed the respective paths traced for them by the initial impulse which created them. In American flesh European discord is incarnate, and two distinct worlds rise in their historical planes. Anglo-America is more modern than Latin America. In the New World is reproduced the historical unevenness of Europe.

I reserve for a book which I am planning the development *in extenso* of this fundamental observation. Here I shall only be able to indicate what seems decisive to me in the historical structure of America. It is this: the historical unevenness produced in Europe by the advent of the Modern World is aggravated in America. In Latin America there is an historical step backward—not a primitivism, as Hegel thought; in Anglo-America there is

a leap ahead. This observation is founded upon a careful study of the most varied sectors of the American colonial life, of its architecture, its historiography, its economy; upon a certain peculiar manner of conceiving of the universe, man and time; upon North American political constitutionalism—an ingenious manifestation of modern life; and upon Puritanism, an authentic tradition of North America.

In general terms it can be said that Spanish colonization is animated by a medieval spirit; whatever it contains that is modern is a blemish in it. Anglo-American colonization is of pure modern inspiration; whatever it contains that is medieval is, in it and for it, an unjustified limitation. The Puritan, the man whose defect in his time was that of being too modern, saw in America, literally and vitally, a golden land of promise, of liberation; for the Spaniard, America is, without hyperbole, an unredeemed and black land, the vast empire of the Devil.

And this is why the American phenomenon, taken in its authentic complexity and concretion, reveals a structure formed by two worlds in acute historical disequilibrium. This is no abstract concept. It is a reality—the concrete American historical reality which shades and transcends all manifestations of American material and spiritual life.

I believe that this profound and original difference between the two Americas, that this definite lack of equilibrium, exists today. I believe that this is the picture which represents the historical reality of the continent; I believe that a clear and distinct perception of the difference between the two Americas is the inescapable condition for knowing in their original and concrete authenticity the great facts of American history. I believe, finally, that to have demonstrated the essential difference between the two Americas is to have demonstrated that, despite some purely abstract similarities, the colonial systems in both are radically different.

Neither can it be maintained, as men have tried to do, that the struggle for nationality is a unifying continental phenomenon which begins in 1776 and concludes in 1826. Here perhaps the error is more easily perceptible. North American nationality is the political result of a union of originally separate groups, while in Spanish America a disintegration of a pre-existent unity was first necessary. North American federation is a spontaneous formula of association; federation in Latin America is a formula of imitation. In Mexico, for example, it was necessary to create

the states legally, that is to say artificially, so that they could federate. Study the mentality of a man like Franklin and that of a man like the Mexican Dr. Cos and the definitely opposite spirit which animated these men will be noted. Read the parliamentary and constitutional documents relative to independence in the two Americas, and you will arrive at the conclusion that North American independence reveals a unifying force and that Latin American independence is primarily a force of disintegration. Independence in the two Americas means very different things—other antecedents, other motives, another spirit, other intentions, another epoch. Let it not be said, then, that it is a question of a continental unitary phenomenon, because this is only a purely formal abstraction which corresponds to no reality.

To manifest the Americas in their sharp contrast, we can summarize by saying that colonization in Latin America is an effort to create a unity of the Christian imperial type, while North American colonization is an atomic creation. Independence in Latin America is a movement of dispersion, a scattering; on the other hand, in Anglo-America independence is a movement of fusion. In the former, political liberation does not create nationality as it did for the latter. The Latin American nationalities, finally, obey no spontaneous formula, but a formula of imitation, precisely that of Anglo-American nationality. Is any sharper contrast possible?

It has been said also that, in general, the relations between the two Americas have been good and cordial and that this constitutes one more proof of continental historical unity. To me, neither does it seem exact to say that those relations have been generally good and cordial, nor, in case they had been, would that have constituted a proof of unity. The problem of the relations between the two Americas is extremely complex, and it is not possible to despatch it with the vague and indefinite concept of solidarity or by saying that relations are good or bad. Study limited to diplomatic and commercial relations covers only one aspect, and assuredly not the most profound. It has been a common error to confuse international relations with relations between the two Americas. There is a connection between these two things, but they are distinct. Relations between the two American worlds belong rather to the field of historical psychology. I have my opinion about this which some day I hope to be able to state with some decorum; according to that opinion, it seems to me that if those relations prove anything, it is the great

difference which separates the two Americas rather than a continental unity. In my judgment, the profoundly important aspect of the problem which must be solved lies in the sphere of spiritual and moral forces. I believe that until now the relations between the two Americas have had as a basis a deep lack of comprehension, not in the purely intellectual sense, but a spiritual incomprehension which has originated from a mutual and reiterated ethical disesteem. Recall the extraordinary book of José Enrique Rodó, which, unjust or not, is a beautiful and facile expression of an authentic sentiment of the Hispanic-American creole soul. "Although I do not love them, I admire them," says Rodó, directing himself to the Latin youth of the New World and referring to the North Americans. Do not let us forget either the brilliant José Martí, who notes as the greatest peril of "our America [the Latin] the disdain for the formidable neighbour who is unacquainted with it." And what should be said of the feeling Bolívar expressed in these words of his—"The United States, which seem destined by Providence to infest America with wretchedness in the name of liberty?"

I hold the absolute conviction that we will progress much more in the knowledge of the relations between the two Americas, as they have really existed, if we succeed in disclosing the whole potential load of resentment involved in the epithets "Greasers" and "Gringos," than if we write a whole library about international treaties and conventions.<sup>2</sup>

And much more should be added to all this. For example, one should show how spiritually diverse is the substratum of economic life in the two American worlds; how different their artistic temperament; and how broad the religious gulf which extends between them. But let us content ourselves with these simple, eloquent indications and recall only this—that the code and the key to authentic understanding of all these questions is in not losing from sight the peculiar structure of America which is, all of it, based on the original lack of equilibrium between the two spheres. This is the decisive formula and the great secret.

There is no sense, then, in speaking of a "common history" of the two Americas, because either it is common history in the

<sup>2</sup>When I note the essential differences between the two Americas and demonstrate the structural disequilibrium in the history of the continent, I do not by any means imply that it is impossible to realize the great promise contained in the word America. On the contrary, those differences are what make that task possible. But this question is foreign to this study and for that reason I leave it untouched.

broad sense of being human history and then nothing concrete is being said, or it is common history in the sense of some "great unities" based on some supposed resemblances and then it is fallacy. The same effect is made upon me when I see someone seriously sustain the deceitful formula of a "common history" in order to form a concept of the historical structure of the continent, as would be made upon me by seeing someone taking seriously the equestrian statues with which the peoples of Americas have wished to honour their heroes and ruin their parks and gardens. There we see them, Washington and Bolívar. Both reflect in their faces the high inspiration of their uplifted looks. Both are in incredibly heroic postures, although postures not as incredible as those of the no less surprising white horses on which they are mounted. Around the heroes there is a decoration of more or less moving symbols, and among the cannon, the laurel, and the broken chains, there is always by coincidence an eagle which prepares to take flight. Here the similarity between the two heroes really is astounding: Bolívar, the Washington of the South, and vice versa. And do not believe that this is a joke, or that that similarity in the traditional, incongraphic representation is a casual or indifferent thing. It is, neither more nor less, the formula of the "common history" portrayed in stone and bronze.

Let the synthesis of the factors of American history be made. Well and good. I also believe that it is urgent to have a "vision of America." But if that vision is to be true and to correspond to concrete American reality, it cannot be a synthesis of abstractions and of statues.

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IV

A SOUTH AMERICAN VIEW

AT first sight the question "Have the Americas a common history?" seems highly reasonable and natural. But it would be premature to make any reply without first settling a previous question, which I would formulate in this manner: Does America have a history? Or better,—Has the life which we have led some

distinctive quality of its own, or is it only a continuation of European life? There are many persons who think that we are only a more or less happy continuation of the histories of England, Spain, and Portugal. Others judge that we have introduced something of our own, something distinct, into the universal current of events.

For many a person America rises—like the doves which magicians suddenly and unexpectedly produce from their sleeves—on the day when Christopher Columbus sees the coasts of Guaraní, October 12, 1492. What lies behind that date—the old civilizations of the Incas, the Maya, and the Chibcha—is but a rustic stage which lends more colour to the presence of the European conqueror. Official history has long been written in this way. I dare to disagree with that criterion. I do not propose, however, to insist upon our ancient history, but rather to consider simply the history after the arrival of Columbus.

After all, that arrival is a little more important than has been the belief in Europe. If the Europeans had not been so buried in the contemplation of their own works, perhaps they would have understood that their life and their history were then acquiring a third dimension. No longer was the world to continue its evolution along the length and the breadth of Europe, but, as occurs in the geometry of space, it was to slip over the edges of that little surface, and instead of continuing to be a gaming table reduced to the bounds of its four sides, it was to become the celestial sphere which bold Magellan left suspended in space.

But in the sixteenth century Europe had internal preoccupations which greatly impeded her imagination. If there is anything in the world of history which can be presented in more radical opposition, it is the European manner of life and the American manner of life in the same sixteenth century. Then, in Europe, artists, savants, princes, and merchants vied in making the courts more beautiful, more illustrious. Spirits which through the course of several centuries have been becoming ever more refined, express themselves in a cultured and subtle language which turns aggressively against any macaronic Latin. Painters reproduce this new world of silks, velvets, and jewels on canvasses of elaborate sensuality, because to Europeans the "New World" was, in reality, not the America of savage Indians, but the Europe of the resplendent awakening of the Renaissance. Contemporary chronicles are dedicated to the painting of the leading courtesans who very soon could probably be seen, dressed or nude, in the

mirrors of Versailles. Luxury and softness appear and open to make way, that the king of the modern states may pass to receive his crown.

While this occurs in Europe, what is taking place in America? What of the gallant conquerors, the erudite or ignorant friars, the *hidalgos*, who have come to America? Some, certainly, arrive at our coasts dressed in gala attire; their fall is vertical. Here one comes to live a rustic life, a wildly rough life, which levels all men downward. Suddenly the chroniclers see that the words of the language they had brought, turn out to be false in the new theatre where they are to serve, and just as, in Europe, language is becoming converted into a courtly melody or a complicated play of scholastic elegance, so in America it catches the odour of the forest. This transformation of Castilian, which we have been able to observe very exactly in our countries, you surely have been able to note also in the chronicles written in English in these lands. Scholars who have given a little study to the manuscript of the German Ulrich Schmidl, who travelled in Paraguay, point out there the resonances of Guarani found among the German words.

On the other hand it would be a bizarre and difficult, if not impossible undertaking to try to demonstrate that the rude and untamed environment of our land produced in the conduct of men and in the general tone of society a manner of life similar to that produced in Europe by the luxury of the courts, the theological discussion of the Reformation, the erudite urge of the Humanists, the ornamental gyrations of the Renaissance. In reality, I think that the history of America was made not by Europeans, but by Americans. The great figures of the conquest are not those who left Europe with their titles of governors to continue here their careers of steady climb in courtly rank, but they appear among ordinary common soldiers who dispossess the official captains on high seas and on mainland, by right of conquest. It is in that moment that they are born to history. Hence I once dared to state that Cortés, Pizarro, or Quesada are sons of America; consequently, their deeds and their lives belong to the history of America and not to European history. We fully realize their grandeur; we know the environment that gave them creative impulse, and, as is obvious, we find false the sketches of their lives drawn by those who have lived not the American, but the European life.

Perhaps this simple point of departure will clarify the situation a little. Some scholars have burned the midnight oil in their struggle to show precisely how brightly the flames of Humanism

burned in America, the flame of the Reformation, or of the works of Cardinal Cisneros. But whatever may be discovered in this respect will necessarily turn out to be very poor against the vigorous and clear picture of the almost primitive struggle in which the ex-Europeans found themselves involved as they faced our Indians, our serpents, our swamps, and our wild, rough seas.

When general classifications of history are made, we see that in Europe one speaks of the ancient world, medieval ages, and modern times. It is true that in academies it is the custom to discuss the extent represented by each of these denominations, but certain it is that, aside from any routine acceptance, they are very useful in somewhat breaking down the history of the lands over the seas. For us, these divisions are exotic. They tell us nothing about our own life, they do not fit into any world of ours, but into that of the "other side," as is commonly said. On the other hand, it is the constant custom of our historians, those of all America, to make these divisions of our history:—discovery, conquest, independence, and republic. The exactness of this division can also be argued—and I believe that it is possible to perfect it—but the difference between the two histories is immediately evident. And for that very reason, it seems to me absolutely reasonable to speak of an American history, in the same sense that one can speak of a European history.

Naturally, the history of America, like that of Europe, is complex. And more. It is contradictory. That is the way all histories of life are. There is a multitude of factors which apparently unite us, but which at bottom and in the last analysis are only phrases of protocol having a precisely determined value. There are also realities which indisputably differentiate us and upon which it has seemed wise not to insist. But there also exist certain common traits and certain factors which make our lives complementary, and although these traits and these factors have not always been the ones which are most evident, perhaps they are those which really offer the key to our possible continental solidarity. Finally, there are moments of universal agony, of crisis, in which histories of continents join hands to survive in the great tests with which are measured the characters of men and the vigour of their faith. The historian must make his own way through all these circumstances so as not to fall into error.

When the American Historical Association proposed as theme for our discussion "Have the Americas a common history?"—I

asked myself, "Which Americas?" It is very easy to say Latin America and Saxon America. But how far does the history of one go and where does the history of the other begin? From Florida to Labrador, or to New Mexico and to California, you find in this part of the continent a long history bound to conquerors and colonizers of Spanish origin. In fact there are certain words—like Florida or San Francisco or Los Angeles—which will always demonstrate how at least on some occasion the boundary between these little provinces of history was ill defined. Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians have come passing over the stage of this America of the north. If the list seems a little long to you, say simply that all have been Americans. But the fact is that neither four centuries ago, nor today, can this part of the continent be considered as an orthodox unit, free of internal contradiction. All the explorers and colonizers have brought very different ideas from the lands of their origin. Beside the friars of the missions who colonized the west, are seen the Puritans established in New England. While in the south the air has vibrated for several centuries to the chorus of sensual negroes, in Boston only the mute of the white Protestants is heard. The pentagram which at the north opens to the key of the northern mists, opens to the south with the key of the sun.

But in reality it was America herself which little by little imposed the bounds of conquest. The Europeans might embark in Bristol as well as in Cadiz, and with a determined purpose, but here America shuffled the cards and changed the order of their will. At times it seems to me as I read the chronicles of the sixteenth century that our fathers, those of Spain, were slightly more bandit-like than the fathers of you Saxon-Americans, at the time when both left Europe. Between a caravel of people who have been wrested from the hands of justice, as were many of those who formed our Spanish expeditions, and a group of Puritans in the hull of the Mayflower, there is a certain difference. And the curious part is that many of the Spanish bandits ended their lives in convents, wearing the Franciscan habit and making edifying vows so that God would pardon them their past faults and crimes. And on the other hand I understand that no few of the honest Puritans, forced to push the frontier toward the west in a war to the death against the Indians and against nature, became very strange figures of authentic bandits who looked sarcastically back upon the beatific memory of their youth.

Little by little, the hands of this America, which is more exigent

than it appears, modelled heroes and nations. It seems to me that it would be possible to base the most real, or substantial, difference which could be marked between the conquest of the north and that of the south upon two factors, which in the long run modelled two very distinct characters. In the north, the immigrants reached the coast and there formed a human concentration which had not come with the intent to explore the interior, but to establish itself and live. Only the continual arrival of new immigrants kept pushing the population toward the west, slowly stretching the frontier in a rude surge of expansion. The new arrivals found no indigenous race of great culture—here there were neither Incas nor Aztecs, certainly—and the wild Indian gradually ceded his land to force, without submitting to servitude. The European became accustomed to making his own living, to not having servants, to being his own master and his own servant, to clearing the forest himself, and to conducting himself as though within a republic of workers. In the south, colonization was very different. In the interior, on the Andes, shone the dazzling prestige of ancient nations whose chiefs bathed in gold. The conquest neither was concentrated on the coasts, nor did it stop there, and the conqueror was, in addition, an explorer. Instead of a compact front, it was very quickly seen that there were Spanish standards in all points of the interior of America—in Cuzco, in Quito, in Mexico, in Sante Fe de Bogotá. The captains found themselves with minute armies in the midst of enormous nations of Indians and the obvious and natural solution was that of reducing the latter to servitude—or, as they said at that time, to Christian civilization—whereupon at one time contact between the two races was established and the vigorous drive of the first conquerors came to an end.

But there is no need to have the illusion that this general panorama establishes an absolute line of separation between the two American worlds. Here in the north also there was a vast region where life acquired that more subdued tone of the south. Here, in Virginia or in Carolina, the Negro came to replace the Indian, and some of the English masters offer characteristics very similar to those of the Spanish *encomendados* or *hidalgos*. That which was an initial impulse several centuries ago, is still evident and has left its mark on the customs of today. Only a few days ago, in a rapid visit to North Carolina, I was speaking with a professor who carries on studies in folklore, and he said to me—"Here, in North Carolina, I have perceived for the first time in the United States, the meaning of the popular fiesta with which I became

acquainted in Mexico—the same folk verse, an equally expressive music, and even the custom of setting off firecrackers in sign of joy."

I have mentioned some few examples which I could easily multiply, to arrive simply at this conclusion: that what unites us, or separates us, or differentiates us, or identifies us in American life is not European tradition, but our own reality, our own history, our own life. I do not even take into account certain so-called barriers—which are only difficulties of my manner of seeing, never abysses. It has been too frequently said that there is an America which speaks English and an America which speaks Castilian. In the first place, there are in South America forty-four million Brazilians who speak Portuguese; there is a great population in Paraguay that speaks Guaraní; there are very extensive regions in Bolivia where Aymará is spoken, and others in Peru and Ecuador where Quecha is spoken; there is the island of Haiti where they speak French. Moreover, some believe that we speak Spanish. You also have states where Spanish is still a popular tongue (the University of New Mexico is bilingual), and a part of Canada expresses itself in French. But what is irreconcilable in this matter of languages is not language itself, but the spirit which stirs behind the words. If Spain has proved to be only a nation without unity, it has not been the fault of any irreconcilable languages which form the linguistic map of the peninsula. After all, Basques, Galicians, Catalans, and Castilians find no difficulty in making themselves understood. The essential thing is to combine social ingredients upon the basis of mutual toleration and of an authentic co-operation of principles, as occurs in many countries which are not monolingual.

If there is anything which might serve to explain what I find fundamental and common in America, it is exactly the history of words. When I speak in what I consider my own language, I use the same words which are found listed in the dictionary of the Spanish Academy and I construct my sentences without departure from Spanish grammatical rules. However, anyone who may hear or read me, will know instantly that I am not Spanish but American. Exactly the same happens with you and the English language. Why? Simply because if language is to have any meaning, it is that of reflecting the life about it. And our American life may be very well seen in the mirror of its words. Our language in South America is less ostentatious, more natural, more simple than the Spanish of Spain. Perhaps the same thing occurs with your English as compared with that of England.

Pursuing these ideas, it seems to me that we could say that in reality, we speak a single idiom in many different languages. What is ours, what is American, is present and alive in the accent, in the content, in the colouring which we have given to English, to Castilian, to Portuguese, an accent and colour of liberty and democracy. And the history of words thus seen, is the history of America. What we keep ever before ourselves, when we contemplate the history of America, is no projection of European ideals, but the soul of this land which escapes through our gestures, which exists in the general conduct of our lives, in the permanent and inevitable confession of our words.

The contradiction in American life need not necessarily be sought in the antithesis between the United States and Latin America. This division of our life is too simplified for us to be able to accept it without reserve. In the first place, the United States is not all North America, neither within the United States may it be considered that the region of the east, to the north, with its peculiar industrial development, characterizes even the rest of the Union. Similarly, the life of Brazil seems very strange to the Colombian or the Peruvian; it seems as though they were two worlds apart. Even more. At times the history and life of the United States, which has had more communication with us, is more familiar and intelligible to us than the history and the life of Brazil. While we, for example, were building our republics on the bases laid down by the political thinkers of Philadelphia and were at once putting ourselves in contact with the United States in order to have a common international policy, while Bolívar was summoning the United States to the Amphictyonic congress, or a Colombian, Señor Manuel Torres, was giving the bases of his doctrine to President Monroe, Brazil remained separated from our panorama and enshrouded in mists that even now are scarcely beginning to disappear.

On the other hand, even the America which is most familiar to us has been gradually becoming differentiated in an ostensible way. In Argentina, for example, great cities, which have received constant European influences, seem much more like New York than like the Andean cities. And these differences, and antagonisms, many times, have an essential importance in fixing the possible unity of American history or, at least, in synchronizing it. I do not believe that this unity can be realized in any case on the basis of the similarities that are wont to be signalized by the Pan-

Americanists, or by the Hispano-Americanists or by the Indo-Americanists, or by the Saxon-Americanists. The unity of America, or the basis of her solidarity, are born of the fact that there are regions whose economies complement each other, and whose geographic insufficiency forces them to a mutual collaboration. But over and above this life of complementary factors, of interdependence and of opposing terms, there is a note of common history which dominates all our life, in the north as well as in the south; the secular struggle for liberty and the ordinary life surroundings of peoples whose political formation was, has been, and will continue to be, a constant struggle to attain the triumph of justice within democracy and through democracy. In this sense I believe that it is an error to think that our history is not differentiated from the history of Europe, whose antecedents are so different and whose ideals we have not always shared. If it is a question of adding the history of Spanish America to the history of the medieval currents of Spain, as Señor O'Gorman pretends to do, or of resuscitating the Spanish empire in Spanish America as the partisans of the so-called "Hispanism" urge, perhaps we forget that from the point of view of general ideas the war of emancipation of the old Spanish colonies could be considered as a civil war in which the defenders of liberal ideas in America imposed their will on Spanish absolutism. This single fact, quantitative and qualitative, is enough to fix the difference between the two currents which in each case were dominant in the two peoples. But the war of emancipation, in the north as well as in the south, was not only an administrative separation; it was the most expressive manifestation of the American spirit which had been forming in the course of three centuries of laborious gestation.

The reflections which I have expressed were in a great part suggested to me in reaction to my reading of the very brilliant exposition of Señor O'Gorman, whose points of view I do not share, as is obvious, but whose thesis I consider very useful because of the admirable frankness with which he has aligned himself on the opposite side in order to encourage a debate which is opportune and interesting in every respect.

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## RYERSON AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1844

THE results of the elections of 1844 in the Upper Province have continued to be something of an enigma to students of Canadian history. Various explanations have been offered for the sweeping verdict at the polls. Historians who have emphasized the constitutional issue have found themselves in particular difficulties. Why should a sturdy people, so long harried by the Compact, now that Durham had planted and Sydenham had watered and Bagot had given a Reform administration, turn to the support of a governor trained to despotism in the East? Was it his immense wealth used so lavishly in private or public charity? Was it the intimidation widely resorted to during the turbulence of open voting? Was it the bogey of annexation, always so frightening to Loyalists? But Metcalfe was a man of high and unimpeachable integrity, and little evidence has been brought forward to indicate that either bribery or force was resorted to on behalf of the cause he supported; while on the other hand there is considerable evidence that the polling was remarkably free from those scenes of open violence so frequently attending elections of this period. Defeated candidates and parties have not always displayed good sportsmanship in accepting the verdict of the people, and in default of concrete evidence little weight can be attached to general assertions. The appeal to loyalty provides a more valid explanation, but even here too much importance can be attached to an argument which in Canadian history has been effective only when adroitly handled. It will be remembered, for instance, that in analysing the fateful elections of 1911, Laurier's shrewdness placed it second, not first, in the three causes of his defeat.

Realizing the weakness of these explanations, certain historians have had recourse to a *deus ex machina* in the person of Egerton Ryerson. He has been represented as turning the tide, less indeed by his defence of Metcalfe in the press than by his influence as a sort of "Pope of Methodism" over his numerous and "docile" flock.

The absurdity of this particular explanation readily appears from a study of such contemporary documents as the Minutes of the Wesleyan Conference and some one hundred and fifty personal letters of the years 1843 and 1844 in the body of the Ryerson correspondence, now in process of editing. Indeed this material indicates that the tide against Baldwin and the Reformers in Canada West, while augmented by Ryerson's courageous defence,

had already set in a year before the elections, as a result of a certain doctrinaire and impractical, not to say peevish, element in Baldwin's disposition, which hampered him throughout his career and in this instance delayed for some years the distinct contribution he was to make to the development of his native province.

Mention should perhaps be made of the explanation offered in the latest work on the period. Two chapters are assigned by Edward Thompson in *The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1937) to what the author regards as his tragic failure in Canada. He is described as "the man who has stood to Canadians for sheer unintelligent obstruction and tyranny." The vote of confidence as his term neared its close naturally is briefly dismissed (p. 407). It would appear that Mr. Thompson actually thinks that sympathy aroused by his physical suffering was an important factor. "Such torture, and such an unconquerable front to it, softened people's hearts—some people's, that is—and served to wring a momentary pity from his unfriendly stars. Metcalfe won his election . . ." (p. 402). And the Methodists, so it appears to Mr. Thompson, served the stars in their courses. To counterbalance the Irish Catholics, whom the Reformers had wooed and won, Metcalfe received their support, as led by "the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, an inveterate and eager politician, conspicuous even in the flock of stormy petrels that flit through these wild years. Ryerson admitted that nine-tenths of the people were opposed to Metcalfe. Plunging deeply into the battle, his followers temporarily drove those nine-tenths back" (pp. 402-3).

In this, and in other works where there has been serious error, it has been mainly the result of a tendency unduly to emphasize the constitutional aspect of the Governor's difference with his ministers. After all, constitutional issues are never so readily comprehended nor so generally effective as are concrete matters immediately touching conscience or interest. Then, too often in Canadian history we have fixed our attention on the "top-sawyers in these woods," to borrow Bagot's happy phrase, and forgotten the bottom sawyers, and even the woods themselves. If the short and simple annals of the ordinary yeomen and merchants and preachers of Upper Canada could have been more carefully scrutinized in such correspondence as they indulged in, or as reflected in the current press, the verdict of the people at the polls in 1844 would not have seemed so surprising and would have admitted of more rational explanation.

Further, it would appear that in the study of this period too

little attention has been paid to religious predilections and prejudices. The struggle against the exclusiveness of the Church of England—and to a lesser degree that of the Church of Scotland—had given a vitality to the free churches which deeply influenced the politics of the day. But the whole situation, as it affected the several Methodist bodies, namely the Canada Conference, the British Wesleyans, and the Episcopals, together in 1844 in numbers the largest and in organization and spiritual influence the strongest religious element in the province, was not so simple as has sometimes appeared to commentators. Never at any time could it be said of any person, preacher or layman, that he carried the Methodist vote in his waistcoat pocket; certainly not of Ryerson in 1844. At that particular time he was anathema to the Wesleyans, whose sycophantic acceptance of establishment he had so recently and so roundly condemned. With the Episcopals, who were largely Reformers, he may have been on somewhat more friendly terms. But of his own Conference, the Canada Conference, a bulwark and exemplar of democratic methods, as its minutes preserved in manuscript form for over half a century amply attest,—of his own Conference he had never been elected annual president, and certainly could not have secured anything like a majority of the votes for president in that year, particularly as during the first week of June when the brethren assembled, his letters in support of the Governor had already begun to appear in the *Colonist*,—not the *Christian Guardian*, be it noted.

Undoubtedly the people of Canada were interested in the constitutional issue, much more interested and informed than their great-grandsons would be today in similar case. The intelligence of the interest will appear in some of their letters referred to or quoted. They had sufficient sense to see that Responsible Government, in any proper use of the term, was impossible in a colony; just as Union, in any proper use of the term, was difficult if not impossible as between two provinces so disparate in religion and other fundamentals of life. But these two anomalies might await solution; the important thing was to discover a *modus vivendi*, a practical way of getting on with things in the meantime. If proof is needed of this, it is to be found on the editorial page of the last issue of the *Globe* before the voting in Toronto. Already at the age of twenty-three George Brown was the practical politician he remained to the end. And he was shrewd enough to devote his final editorial, October 15, 1844, not to the constitutional issue but to an appeal to interests more local and tangible. "Electors!" he

exclaimed, "never forget that King's College will be only a hot bed of sectarianism unless you return liberal members of parliament."

And that leads to my crowning heresy, the notion that the resignation of the Councillors in November, 1843, was due less to difficulties with the Governor over patronage and the constitution than to difficulties with their own supporters over certain features of their busy programme of legislation. The former reason they exhibited—it proclaimed them champions of liberty as against an Eastern despot; the latter skeleton they pretty well managed to keep in the closet. But the skeleton was there, and Gibbon Wakefield's sharp if sinister eye caught a glimpse of it. Whatever may have been the situation in the Lower Province, it is plain that Baldwin was in some difficulty. Certain of his measures had antagonized considerable sections of the people of his native province. The Secret Societies Bill, aiming as it did at the proscription of members of the Orange Order, together with the resolution which removed the capital from Kingston to Montreal, seemed to indicate a clear surrender to French demands. It all smacked of a dictatorial attitude which Lafontaine had exhibited as early as May, if Higginson's *précis* was at all accurate. The former measure, illiberal as it was, directly affected few of Baldwin's supporters, since the Orange Order was, as Durham had characterized it, "an Irish Tory institution, having not so much a religious as a political bearing."<sup>1</sup> But the shifting of parliament to Montreal was deeply resented.

Even more seriously disturbing was the University Bill. It was Baldwin's own production, elaborated with his furrowed brow in the clouds. Far-sighted as it was, and anticipating in many respects, by nearly half a century, the present federated system, it was unfair and impractical at the time. Little pains had been taken to see that it satisfied any of the colleges whose fortunes it would have merged. King's College Council, with two exceptions, was bitterly hostile, and Queen's and Victoria raised serious objections, though on somewhat different grounds since Queen's, unlike Victoria, was thinking mainly in terms of theological training. It is safe to say that they would never have accepted a measure which gave Convocation large powers over appointments to the college staffs and the discipline of students, and which threw aside all religious qualifications for professors. The six letters which Thomas Liddell, Principal of Queen's, wrote to Ryerson during

<sup>1</sup>Sir C. P. Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (3 vols., Oxford, 1912), 181.

these weeks, make this abundantly clear. In both colleges, and in the large constituencies supporting them, resentment was surging at the loss of important rights and privileges, without sufficient corresponding advantages. And King's College was even less cordial at the prospect of being metamorphosed into the University of Toronto. The President, John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, who in times past had not been without success in agitation, and particularly in enlisting Roman Catholic support, drafted a perfervid petition adroitly displaying the spectre of secularization; if it could be achieved in the Upper Province with the endowment set apart for higher education, what was not possible in the Lower Province with its endowments of 2,125,179 acres? So Strachan argued, and Wakefield echoed the sentiment. And it is an interesting fact, and probably not entirely a coincidence, that the government resigned while the final reading and debate on the University Bill was pending. Wakefield's opinion was that Baldwin would probably have been compelled to withdraw it on the Monday after the Sunday on which he resigned.

News of the difficulties of the government with the Governor and with parliament reached Ryerson at Cobourg by the weekly press and by letter. Immersed as he was in administrative duties and in teaching at the College, he could not quite forget his interest in public affairs. As protagonist in the struggle for civil and religious liberty, as editor for nine years of what Sydenham described in a despatch to Lord John Russell of March 13, 1841, as "the only decent paper in both Canadas," he could not remain completely in retirement. He had had official communication with Metcalfe on a dispute with the British Wesleyans over the grant to missions, as well as on the University question; and in addition to the letters from Dr. Liddell had been informed of the situation at Kingston in private letters from his youngest brother Edwy, the last and least of this famous family of five preachers, who was now stationed there; also from J. P. Roblin, a Methodist and Reform member for Prince Edward. On November 4, Roblin wrote again as follows:<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt but it will go to Montreal. I have my fears as to the ultimate result of the Union but hope they are groundless. Lafontain is now decidedly the most powerful man in Canada and if he uses his influence with prudence and discretion it may all do very well.

Mr. Baldwin I think does not feel very comfortable and I must say that I do not feel so myself for I hold him in high *estimation*, not only for political character

<sup>2</sup>This, and other letters referred to, are in the Ryerson Collection in the library of Victoria University, Toronto.

but for his moral worth. He seems to be deserted by his Upper Canada friends. In fact we were bound to go against him. He is still in the majority, but it is made up of lower Canadians and such members of Upper Canada as have not much influence in the country. The most influential Reformers of Upper Canada such as Messrs. Merritt, Morris, Thorburn, Cameron, Garrison, Boswell and others being against him on this question. We shall however support him on every question which we conscientiously can.

Then on his way home from Kingston after the abrupt adjournment, William Hamilton Merritt, the member for Lincoln, dropped off at the College to have a talk with Ryerson, and asked him what he thought of the case as between the Governor and the retired ministers. Now Merritt was a moderate Reformer who had given general support to the late administration, but whose independent judgment was likely to assert itself on any matter in which he was particularly interested, such as education and commerce. As promoter of the Welland Canal he had been attacked by William Lyon Mackenzie, but his reputation had emerged unsullied from investigation by a special committee of the Legislature; and his popularity was such in the vicinity of St. Catharines, where he resided, that he was always sure of election. To Merritt's question, Ryerson replied that from what he had heard his sympathies were with the Councillors; whereupon Merritt defended the Governor and requested Ryerson to study the documents when they were available.

More pressing matters, however, demanded his attention. Toward the end of the session Draper had been permitted to appear before the bar of the House with a brief for King's College. Friendly as were his personal relations with Draper, Ryerson could not allow this persuasive argument to pass unchallenged. A triumph for the exclusive principle in university education would mean the loss of much he had striven for during twenty years. Soon an argument of some eight thousand words was ready for the *Guardian*, and was published in the first issue of the new year. At the outset he admitted the soundness of several of the points made in what he called a most ingenious and beautiful production, but he could by no means accept the main argument that the royal prerogative would be infringed if the Legislature were to revise the terms of an existing foundation or to create a new university; and in order to enforce his argument he reviewed at length the history of the founding of the several British universities.

The fact that this reply was prepared after Draper had accepted the Governor's call to the Executive Council as (for the present) sole Upper Canadian adviser sufficiently attests Ryerson's poli-

tical independence at this stage. While he was spending his holidays in historical research to confute Draper, Hincks was similarly occupied with the preparation of a speech on the University question for a great public dinner in honour of the late ministers at the North American Hotel in Toronto on December 28. So impressive was his argument and so merciless in its exposure of the mismanagement and worse of King's College, that when he sat down amid enthusiastic applause his toast was drunk with three times three and one cheer more.

It was the University question which, after three years of complete abstention, brought Ryerson once more into politics. Baldwin's bill, so dear to his heart, had gone with his ministry. Yet something must be done; the existing situation was intolerable. Metcalfe was not the man to shirk responsibility. In a letter dated December 18, 1843, Ryerson was invited, at his convenience, to call on the Governor to discuss the University question. Having finished the term's work at the College and clarified his mind, he replied on January 3, enclosing copies of a missionary report and making some observations on the views held by His Excellency's new adviser on the University question. Higginson, the Governor's secretary, wrote again on January 6, repeating the invitation and adding a significant observation: "When it suits your convenience to come this way His Excellency will have an opportunity of fully discussing the other subject touched on in your letter, but in the mean time he observes that a distinction must be drawn between Mr. Draper the Advocate and Mr. Draper the Executive Councillor."

Meanwhile Ryerson received two letters on the general political situation. One was from the Rev. Anson Green dated December 27, 1843. After discussing Conference matters, Green continues:

The President thinks with you that the *Council* are on the safe side of the question. Though I cannot for my life see why they should resign at the present time, for they stated in the House that both Mr. Stanton of Toronto and the Speaker of the Legislative Council were appointed by *their advise*. I think they should have waited until his Excellency *refused to ask their advice* and not force him to make *pledges*. In my opinion both parties have acted indiscretely and awkwardly. And I have reason to believe that a Majority of the Reformers in parliament from U.C. would be happy to support Harrison if he could form a Ministry from the *Majority* on the question at issue.

Merritt on January 3 writes in much the same vein:

There can be little doubt that both the Governor and his late Administration have erred. A conciliatory spirit would have avoided this crisis. They had an opportunity of placing this province in a most enviable situation. They have

neglected or did not possess the Ability to avail themselves of it, and I am sorry to say that I am neither satisfied with their Measures or can place Confidence in their Judgment. At the same time I feel so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of having under the Control of our Legislature the *entire* Management of our internal Concerns—without which any attempt at a thorough reformation would be useless, that I have my apprehensions any movement which would have a tendency to check its onward progress would be injurious. The principle does not appear to be fully understood or fully conceded. The time has not arrived. Nevertheless I feel satisfied the Governor General would admit it and act fully up to it with any Cabinet who possessed his confidence and thus bring it into action much earlier than persisting in the opposite course. On the other hand you are subject to the imputation of abandoning men who resigned for the maintenance of that principle, & few can doubt the honesty of purpose of Lafontaine and Baldwin. Being thus placed on the horns of a dilemma, the wisest plan is perhaps to let matters take their course. At all events I have made up my mind to do so.

About the middle of January the deferred interview between Metcalfe and Ryerson took place. It was continued on the following day during three hours and a half. Conversation was not confined to the University question. The condition of education in general was discussed, and Metcalfe revived the suggestion made by Sydenham shortly before his accident that Ryerson should undertake its superintendence. Further, the names of suitable Councillors were considered, and the hope was expressed that Garrison, who had resigned as Provincial Secretary on the Seat-of-Government issue, might re-enter the Council and that Merritt might be induced to join him. Ryerson saw Garrison, who lived at Kingston, and on the twentieth of January wrote Merritt urging him to accept office, and expressing his entire confidence in Metcalfe. "Whatever the Gov. Genl. may have heretofore thought," he said, "of either the theory or practice of Responsible Govt. he is certainly right on the subject now."

On the twenty-fifth Merritt replied, definitely stating that the condition of his private affairs would not permit his accepting office. He believed dissolution of parliament the best course:

Members would feel very naturally a much greater anxiety in sustaining any ministry with a chance of four years to test their measures, than as many days, as in the present instance.... No man doubts the Motives of Baldwin. No other member of the administration is named or possesses the least weight.... I fully agree with you that with the present Governor Genl. a fair opportunity offers, nay more I am sure that one half of the present income now wasted could be saved, not less than £100,000 for useful objects, but I cannot at present assist to carry it into effect, which you cannot regret more than, truly and faithfully yours, W. Hamilton Merritt.

With Merritt's refusal was involved that of Garrison, and eight

months were to elapse before the Governor could complete a Council with which to go to the country.

On February 10, Ryerson wrote his brother John asking his advice on the situation, personal and political. Now John was something of a statesman, and Egerton during these years relied much on his judgment. Every word of his long reply on February 15 was written in pain. "In addition to general debility," he explains, "I am now suffering from another large blister, drawn night before last, on the lower part of my throat and upper part of my stomach for the purpose of removing (what previous blisterings have failed to do) the distressing inflammation." Yet the "dissultery remarks," which he admits he himself cannot decipher, could appear without blushing beside the argument unfolded to the Reform Association by William Hume Blake, Professor of Law at the University.

John is in favour of Egerton's accepting the superintendence of education. He thinks the appointment of the Rev. Robert Murray "a most contemptable one & the late executive greatly disgraced themselves in makeing it."<sup>3</sup> But he doubts the wisdom of accepting an appointment under a new government formed in opposition to the late executive. He believes the Council was in the main and in principle right and Sir Charles wrong. Not that he has any respect for the moral character of the majority of the members. Further as a church the Methodists owed them no thanks. And they were guilty of a breach of trust in throwing up office in the midst of a session of parliament on the ground of an "antagonism" which had existed before parliament was convened. But notwithstanding all this he argues at length that the Governor was "bound to govern by their advise, whatever his own private views and feelings might be (so far as the great doctrine of '*united Empire*' would admit). Otherwise responsible government is a perfect farce." He greatly mistrusts Lord Stanley, and notes by way of contrast the treatment accorded liberal men in Nova Scotia. He believes that more than nine-tenths of the people in western parts of the province are with the late Executive Council, but though continually pressed with questions soliciting his opinion, he has said as little as possible on all these matters. "Indeed," he admits, "my present state of health is such as to admonish me to

<sup>3</sup>John believes the butchers and grocers had particular reason for gratitude at his appointment. Later when Murray was shifted to the University the undergraduates could sing:

"Here's to the professor of dull Mathematics,  
He knows more about steaks than he does about Statics."

think about other things than worldly polatiks, and I blush to think of how long a letter I have written respecting them."

In a second letter, on March 6, he concedes that he would like to believe what Egerton says about the patriotic and liberal intentions of the Governor. He himself has never had any "fellowship with low radicalism" either in church or state. He recognizes that the late Councillors were "at war to the knife with all church power in political affairs." He hopes Sir Charles may succeed in forming a liberal administration, but he has no expectation that he can do so. He is disgusted with the Governor's replies to those who "rallyed around him for no other reason than to destroy all liberal government." He thinks the public mind has become fixed and that it is too late, though it is hard to say "what the laps of a few months may bring round." John believes that Egerton's influence with the people on such matters is much less than it once was, and is sure of this, that should he become Superintendent of Education and Baldwin return to power "the stool will be kicked" from under him.

About the same time a letter reached Ryerson from the Rev. Alex. McNab (later Canon McNab of Darlington), at this time Book Steward for the Conference. It told him how "the city was rife with reports and surmises" about himself and the Governor; how officials of the local church had been "running almost daily to Mr. Baldwin with enquiries and remarks and declarations" and then waiting upon the Rev. Henry Wilkinson, their preacher, saying what they intended to do. The Rev. Jonathan Scott, editor of the *Christian Guardian*, had also been involved in the political turmoil, and on the Reform side.

Ryerson was not deterred by these storm signals, nor even by John's bucolic metaphor. Early in March he made the momentous decision, which was communicated to the Governor in a long letter of March 8. He resolved to hazard his future on the acceptance by the people of Canada of Metcalfe's policy. A suggestion of Draper that he become joint Provincial Secretary had not been accepted. Being regarded, so Higginson wrote on March 2, as "one of the Responsible Offices that include a Seat at the Council, it would give more of a political character to your position than His Excellency conceives you would desire or approve, or than could be given consistently with the exclusion of all other Clergymen from such offices."<sup>4</sup> It is clear that Ryerson was not disturbed by this decision; he was never concerned about mere place. But

<sup>4</sup>The late government had carried a measure denying even the vote to the clergy.

the superintendency of education in Canada West without general support of the views he held in common with the Governor would be intolerable. He was convinced that those views were sound, and sanguine enough to believe that they would be accepted by the people of his native province if fairly presented to them. On his part, all he asked for at the moment was the definite assurance of the confidence and support of the government. If bargain it was, that was the bargain he made.

His opponents had much to say, and justly, about the supremacy of the will of the people's representatives as against the arbitrary authority of a viceroy. Ryerson for his part was disposed to uphold the royal prerogative as against partisanship in government. His personal attitude, however, was entirely consistent alike with the theory and practice of Responsible Government; he was prepared to trust himself and his future to the will of an enlightened parliament, or an informed electorate speaking at the polls. The government must announce its confidence in him by offering him the appointment; he would announce his decision to enter the lists in support of principles held by the government; but his acceptance of office was deferred until parliament, or the people, had accepted these principles. The bargain was fair and honest. But the course was risky. Sir Charles's will might be firm, his honour invincible. Still he was a sick man. For twelve years he had been fighting a malignant disease. Even now he was appealing to his physician, the eminent Sir Benjamin Brodie, for aid. Presently the skilful young surgeon, Dr. Pollock, was to arrive in Canada and early in May to remove from the cheek a cancer the size of a silver dollar. Metcalfe's fulfilment of his promise was at least as uncertain as had been Sydenham's in 1841. But Ryerson had faith in himself, in the cause, and ultimately and conclusively in the conscience and judgment of the people. The nice legal and constitutional implications of Responsible Government—as the pundits now know them—may at certain points have eluded his mind, but the essence of the matter was his; and in his adhesion to the principles as he saw them no Canadian of his day ventured more than he. He could not but be aware of the effect of possible failure on the Conference, the College, and himself.

Toronto was the centre of the opposition to the Governor. The first gun was fired on March 25 at an overcrowded meeting in the large public room at the North American Hotel. A series of seventeen resolutions with more than seventeen speeches had been prepared. Five hours from 6.30 to 11.30 were crowded with oratory,

a full report of which is given in "*The Globe Extra*," *Proceedings at the First General Meeting of the Reform Association of Canada*. Baldwin was moved to the chair with loud acclamations. He was gratified at the honour. He prophesied that the day would come "when one of the proudest boasts of our posterity will be that they can trace their descent to one who had his name inscribed on the great roll of the contenders for colonial rights" (p. 4). Basing his claims on Durham's *Report*, on Sydenham's pronouncement, and on Bagot's practice, he declared that the late Council had simply adhered to the acknowledged principles of Responsible Government. They had not sought to make the Governor a "tool," but to avoid themselves "being reduced to a state of degradation the most abject and humiliating" (p. 11). They had repeatedly and distinctly explained to His Excellency "that they considered him free to act contrary to their advice, and only claimed an opportunity of giving such advice and of knowing before others His Excellency's intentions" (pp. 10-11). Henry John Boulton followed. His remarks provoked even greater applause. He was particularly happy in describing the Governor's vain search during four months for better men to succeed the late Councillors; he thought it might be "on account of the wooden character of the country" (p. 13). Blake moved the second resolution. While admitting Responsible Government to be "incapable of accurate definition" (p. 15), and while moderate in his reference to the infringement of its principles by His Excellency, he yet contended that sacred rights had been violated and begged that he might "hear no more of our insignificance in this our struggle for freedom" (p. 19). The audience followed his weighty argument with attention and "the eloquent learned gentleman sat down amid loud and long continued bursts of applause" (p. 20). Robert Baldwin Sullivan addressed the meeting at length, and gave a lead to historians by suggesting "that the high and respected individual who rules over us may have brought his notions of free government from the East and not from England; that he may have, in that distant country, learned to despise the political opinions that divide a free people, and to hold in contempt the political parties and those who are appointed to lead them" (p. 22). Amongst the older Reformers whose names were attached to resolutions were Jesse Ketchum and James Hervey Price; also James Lesslie and John Doel, whom close association with Mackenzie now after seven years did not seem to disqualify; three younger barristers, later to achieve distinction, Skeffington Connor, Joseph C. Morrison, and John Macara; and

last but by no means least George Brown, who precipitated himself into the oratory and fray with all his force and zeal.

It was the agitation throughout the province set afoot by this meeting, and the League it launched, strongly backed by funds and newspaper support, which brought Ryerson into his crucial and prodigious contest with Sullivan. On May 23 Higinson wrote:

You will of course have seen the Manifesto just hatched and brought forward by the League, jesuitically & cleverly enough put, we must admit; it will no doubt be widely circulated, and it is very desirable that an antidote to the poison should be as extensively communicated to the People; and who in the Province is so capable as yourself for such a task—if you would take up their arguments seriatim, you could prove their fallacy without much difficulty. The fabric being founded upon misrepresentation & falsehood must go with a run. I confess I long to see these ambitious party men unmasked.

Ryerson at once addressed himself to the task. The introductory notice to the press of the province announcing his intention bears the date, Cobourg, May 27. He proposes to prove that "His Excellency is entitled to the verdict of the country on every count of the indictment got up against him."<sup>5</sup> He will not shrink from any responsibility if he can prevent his countrymen "from rushing into a vortex which, he is most certainly persuaded, will involve many of them in calamities more serious than those which followed the events of 1837" (p. 4). A few days later the letters began to appear in the *British Colonist*, a Toronto daily of moderate tone, edited by Hugh Scobie. The first series, with appendices, as collected in pamphlet form ran to 182 generous pages, and a rebuttal to 63 pages. The argument may be brought under three heads: (1) that the conduct of the late ministers in certain important respects was unconstitutional, or as he put it "informal"; (2) that the question at issue was not Responsible Government, but partisan government, and in particular patronage; and (3) that the attitude of the Reform Association if allowed free course would tend to weaken, or indeed sever, the connection between Canada and Great Britain.

The series at once had the country at attention. The prefatory address and first letter were widely copied and extensively reviewed in the press. Brown thus received it in the *Globe* of June 4:

The astonishing flourish of trumpets with which the mailed glove of the doughty champion of the Governor General was thrown down, has been followed by the reverend combatant careering into the ring. He has pushed aside with contempt

<sup>5</sup>*Sir Charles Metcalfe Defended against the Attacks of His Late Councillors*, by Egerton Ryerson, p. iii. This and other pamphlets of the period are in the Ryerson Collection.

the crowd of imbeciles who have hitherto guarded the prerogative at Kingston and burst into the arena shouting:

"Ring the alarum, blow wind! come wrack,  
At least we'll die with harness on our back."

... If the Rev. Mr. Ryerson's appearance in the political field is indecorous and uncalled for, the manner in which he has begun his work is in perfect keeping with that appearance. A more presumptuous and egotistical exhibition from a man of talents and education has never been witnessed.

But clever editorials were not enough. If the effect of a solid and well-documented argument was to be countered, such was faith in discussion in the Canada of 1844, it must be met point by point. The Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan was chosen to enter the lists, and the *Toronto Examiner* was made the medium. His was the keenest wit in the province. But his political instability was notorious; and he preferred anonymity. "I think it a piece of misguided egotism," he averred, "to mix the name of a public man up with his arguments."<sup>6</sup> And for a disguise he pleasantly turned to the possessed herd of the Gadarenes—Legion, for we are many. At first the contest was quite in his favour. Occasional ineptitude and a certain pontifical air laid Ryerson open to Sullivan's favourite weapon of sarcasm. An unhappy reference to Thermopylae—Ryerson could not at once forget the class-room—earned for him the adhesive sobriquet, Rev. Leonidas; and a still unhappier statement that "the strength of Empire will, of course, be employed (if need be) to support the decision of its authorities"<sup>7</sup> brought him under this lash: "With a beautiful consistency and harmony of argument he boasts of throwing himself into a Thermopylae of death, and then he tells the enemy, the poor Reform Association, that he has the whole strength of Empire at his back."<sup>8</sup>

The initial advantage secured by Sullivan, however, was not maintained. Ryerson gathered momentum in course; Sullivan's argument, like his seriousness, was less sustained. There was too much point in Ryerson's comment: "His reasoning is like his political career, rambling from beginning to end."<sup>9</sup> Indeed as the authorship of the letters of Legion became generally known—and it was no doubt suspected from the first—the spectre of his past associations must have shocked his readers and haunted the champion of the Reform cause himself. To say nothing of his ousting Mackenzie from the City Council—that could be forgiven him—

<sup>6</sup>*Letters on Responsible Government*, by Legion, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup>*Sir Charles Metcalfe Defended*, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>*Letters on Responsible Government*, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>*The Hon. R. B. Sullivan's Attacks upon Sir Charles Metcalfe Refuted*, by Egerton Ryerson, p. 49.

had he not at Head's invitation accepted office when Baldwin and Rolph and Dunn had resigned as a protest against the Governor's arbitrary policy? And was he not as much as any Canadian responsible for the horrors of the provincial prisons in the winter of 1837-8, and for the hanging of Lount and Matthews against an all but universal sentiment of the people of Upper Canada, and indeed against the wishes of the Home Government? Once Legion was identified it required more than eloquence and raillery to balance the personal equation. Particularly was this the case after he had permitted himself to make light of the long and distinguished career and recognized capacity of Metcalfe, going so far in a public meeting at Sharon in York County as to call him Charles the Simple.

By the time his thirteenth and last letter was being written, the tone had become less jaunty and more downright. Realizing no doubt the crux of the situation, he argues for party patronage as ancillary to party government. "There are but two parties that can be recognized by a Government or a Governor, one the supporters of the administration for the time being and the other those who oppose it."<sup>10</sup> Each man is a friend or an enemy of the government. There is no middle way. In the same letter (p. 209), he is at considerable pains to defend his own tortuous course, while roundly condemning his antagonist in the words: "hollowness, insincerity and hypocrisy seem to be engrained in his nature." A year before, on July 20, the same Sullivan had written to the same Ryerson:

I feel very much obliged by your attention to my little boy, and for your most friendly undertaking to bestow upon him paternal care while under your charge. . . . You do him injustice in supposing he has been at *school*. A private tutor attended at my house who knew and taught nothing but latin and by my own desire he attended to nothing else. Consequently, Willy cannot write or read writing. . . . I hope that our friendship will be a sufficient inducement to you, to teach my boy that upon his own good conduct under Providence his future happiness depends, and to give him that steadfastness of mind, which most persons of his disposition naturally want. In asking these things of you, I place myself under no common obligation. There is no man in Canada of whom I would ask the same. My doing so of you arises from a respect and regard for you personally, which has grown as we have been longer acquainted, and which no prejudices on the part of those with whom I have mixed and no obloquy heaped upon you by others have ever shaken.

Had Ryerson chosen to abuse confidence, the publishing of this letter at a convenient season would have added something to the gaiety of Canada West, and at the same time would have afforded

<sup>10</sup>Letters on Responsible Government, p. 207.

a striking illustration in support of his thesis as to the evil effects of extreme partisanship on men and Christians.

For there is no note more constant in all Ryerson's political writing than his mistrust of partisanship. "Party spirit has been the bane and curse of this country for many years. It has neither eyes nor ears—nor principle nor reason,"<sup>11</sup> he had declared six years before in resuming the editorship of the *Guardian* after a term in the pastorate. It was his settled conviction that the good Christian could not be a good party man. He had striven for years against the partisanship of the Compact, and he was not prepared to substitute for it the partisanship of the Reform Association. Both in its legislation and in its appointments the late government had shown a narrow and illiberal spirit. With such an attitude the only safeguard for merit lay in the prerogative of the Governor. There was then no system of examinations, no high tradition of public service to protect the general interest. Ryerson felt the imminent peril of the descent upon Canada of the doctrine of Andrew Jackson and the Democratic party of the United States. He could quote W. L. Marcy, the late "Loco Foco" Governor of the State of New York, the friend of the brigands of 1838, as boldly asserting, "To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."<sup>12</sup>

It was here that the second and third points of his argument converged. The danger to British connection in the acceptance of such extreme principles is everywhere implicit in the protracted argument; and the events of 1837 and 1838 were still fresh in memory. Before the series was finished Ryerson could refer also to the virtually solid support given Metcalfe in the debate in the British Parliament, where even Charles Buller, the author of much of the Durham *Report*, had come to the aid of Stanley. The Reformers, he could urge, were at odds not only with the Governor but with the conscience of the Empire.

But what was the effect of it all on Canada West? Was it Ryerson's defence that struck a chord to which the province responded at the polls, as Professor Martin in his *Empire and Commonwealth* is inclined to think? It may have been so in the end. These matters are difficult to appraise at this distance, or even at closer range. But this much is clear. His re-entry into politics deeply shocked his brethren. When they met in their annual parliament at Brockville they had before them a resolution from the Toronto Quarterly Meeting deplored his action. The minutes

<sup>11</sup>*Christian Guardian*, July 11, 1838.

<sup>12</sup>*Sir Charles Metcalfe Defended*, p. 116.

are written with such meticulous regard to form that it is not possible to determine the extent of the discussion on this resolution, but from a phrase in the *Guardian* it may be inferred that it was before Conference more frequently than the twice noted in the records. Finally a somewhat ambiguous motion sponsored by Anson Green was carried as follows: "That while we disclaim all intention of controlling the political sentiments of our members, so long as they do not contravene the Discipline of the Church nor contradict the Word of God, we will not as a body be responsible for the political doctrines of any member of our Conference or Church, or party in our country, but leave our people perfectly free to exercise their own judgment in political and civil affairs."

On the same day another resolution was passed defining those who were excluded by the recent Act barring the clergy from voting, but without criticizing the Act. In several other matters the direction of the prevailing wind was indicated. After the opening exercises the first act of Conference was to elect its president and secretary by ballot and without nomination. Richard Jones, a moderate man, but considered as leaning to the Reform party, was chosen President, but Henry Wilkinson, a strong Reformer and pastor of the circuit from which had come the resolution condemning Ryerson, was chosen Secretary. Then Franklin Metcalf and William Ryerson, both stalwart Reformers, were given the honour of introducing the young men for ordination. Someone indeed was mischievous enough to inform the *Examiner* (June 26, 1844) whether accurately or not cannot now be said, that at one stage William actually rose in Conference "and pointing the finger at Egerton he exclaimed with mingled sorrow and indignation in the strong language of irony—'and this is the brother who never breeds any disturbance—who never involves us in difficulty'."

It is true that as editor of the *Guardian*, Scott, whose difference with Ryerson has been noted, was replaced by the Rev. George F. Playter, who had closely contested the chair in 1843; but Playter, while careful to observe the neutrality imposed on him by Conference resolution, does not quite succeed in hiding his partiality to the Reform cause. During the whole campaign, he forbears to mention Ryerson's Defence or his activities, other than those relative to Victoria College; but he is at pains in almost every issue to refer to Baldwin's movements and particularly to his triumphal progress through Lower Canada. On August 28, however, he severely criticized Hincks for an editorial in the *Pilot* in which it was stated that the late administration neither did nor wished to do

anything for the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a body which, as Hincks stated, former governments had attempted with some success to corrupt. This provocative editorial, by the way, may well have had something to do with Hincks's defeat in Oxford, in the face of that riding's predominantly Scottish complexion. A week later Playter fully atoned for this lapse. Greatly annoyed by the fact that Ryerson's final letter in the *Colonist* had been sent to all *Guardian* subscribers, through some subterranean method, he permits himself easement in these words: "If others have reasons for stirring up the minds of the people against the late Councillors, the *Christian Guardian* has none." Then after referring to services from Sullivan, Dunn, Harrison, and Baldwin, he continues: "The Methodist people have not to look to the side arrayed against the late Council for countenance, much less friendship. Yet to this general remark we are happy to make many exceptions. The Methodists and all other non-Episcopalian bodies have no favour to expect but everything to fear from that intolerant party of which John, Bishop of Toronto, is the head. . . . Woe to Canada, if the misrule prior to the Union of the Provinces should ever return!" And his editorial, when the contest was over, and Ryerson could leave on his great mission to Europe, while congratulating Methodism, is frigidity itself in its references to Ryerson.

Not without significance, also, is the almost complete drying up of correspondence from his brethren to Ryerson during these weeks. Friendly letters a-plenty there are from men in public life, such as Higginson, Scobie, Buchanan, and Duggan, but scarcely a line from his own people. In one of Higginson's letters there is a reference to John's opinion in favour of meeting parliament rather than appealing to the country, which may indicate a letter from John of this period forwarded to Higginson. But apart from a letter from Playter as to an article Ryerson had submitted, the contents of which he had already anticipated (probably that on Hincks and the *Pilot*), and one from Peter Jones dealing with Indian missions, there are only three letters from Methodists. Each, however, has significance. Billa Flint, a prominent Belleville layman, writes protesting against a statement of Ryerson in one of his public letters to the effect that a certain prominent Methodist, presumably Flint, had resented treatment received at Baldwin's hands when the latter was a candidate in Hastings. Jacob Wood, who had gone to school with Ryerson in Norfolk, violently protests against his throwing his weight on the side of the old Tory faction,

and injuring "Vittoria" College in so doing. And the third, dated September 21, from one of the older and less literate members of Conference, the Rev. George Ferguson, who speaks of himself as "a father now in his 59th year"—age came on apace to pioneers and saddle-bag preachers—expresses concern as to the spiritual welfare of his "dear son" now that he is involved once more in politics. And this of the impending elections: "I am sorry to see so many of our people turning to low radicalism, and I am afraid the Methodist Ministry is two deep in the charge (quite a number in our beloved conference); I have know doubt but the Governor will loose the election in Canada West."

But George Ferguson was wrong. The extreme measures of the Reform administration during its brief tenure of office, together with the violent campaign carried on in their press, had served to alienate many moderate Reformers. Unquestionably the bold stand of Ryerson, his weighty and persistent arguments in support of the Governor's cause, and his wide reputation as an advocate of civil and religious liberty, played a considerable part in crystallizing this growing distrust of the party of Baldwin and Lafontaine. It is reasonable to suppose also that a good many Methodists would be influenced by the fact that at last the admitted ability of a member of their communion should have been recognized in preferment for public office. The eleventh-hour inclusion in the Executive Council of the Hon. William Morris, who had occupied with Presbyterians a position not unlike that of Ryerson among the Methodists, must have brought many Scottish voters over to the Governor. And at the end the Tory vote came in. Scobie notes, in a letter of August 14, the aloofness of the old Compact party, and explains it as part of a plan to compel the Governor to call them back to power, but when he failed to respond or to include even one of their number, they came to heel.

The elections began in mid-October. Toronto was one of the first ridings to report. Here, in the home of the Reform Association, the electors cast 341 votes for such a personable candidate as the Hon. John Dunn, and 639 and 623 votes for the two supporters of the Governor; this although at the previous election Dunn and Buchanan had scored an easy victory. Kingston, formerly represented by Harrison, delivered John A. Macdonald to public life by an overwhelming majority; here it may be inferred that the University and Seat-of-Government questions had much to do with the abrupt change. Baldwin was elected in one of the Yorks, but Blake yielded to Duggan in another.

When several other ridings as well as Toronto had turned a deaf ear to his blandishments, George Brown could cheer himself with the illusion that ridings still to be heard from might do better. "The rotten boroughs have exhausted their strength" he piped on October 22. But the results were equally conclusive elsewhere. In spite of the great resources, in brains and money, behind the League, the best the Reformers could do in Canada West was to return from eight to twelve supporters to a House of forty-two members.<sup>13</sup> It was not corrupt practices; nor pity for the Governor's physical suffering, rarely mentioned and never obtruded; nor the Methodist vote, except in so far as in common with the votes of other religious communities it was turned against the Reformers by the illiberal character of their administration and the extravagant attitude of their press. Its judgment informed by full and free discussion, Canada West had spoken for moderation.

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<sup>13</sup>The uncertainty as to actual numbers is to be explained by the fact that by 1844 Canada had not yet hardened its mind into fixity of party loyalty. For that matter recognized terms to designate the two parties were not at this time by any means definitely established, and the general manner of announcing this particular election was under the letters G.G. and L.E.C., in accordance with the expectation that the members would support the Governor on the one hand or the late Executive Council on the other.

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### CANADA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS<sup>1</sup>

SINCE the outbreak of the war it has become more and more difficult to separate Canadian foreign affairs from the main currents of world events. The problem has become even more difficult since the spread of the war to the Pacific. As a result, almost every recently published book which deals with any aspect of the international scene, political, social, or economic, touches Canada's foreign affairs, directly or indirectly. The selection of titles, for an article such as this, must therefore be rather arbitrary, and the reader will find that a number have been included which on the surface have little or no connection with Canada. There has been no attempt to make the list of books exhaustive. A number of titles, in addition to those mentioned in the text, have however been included in the bibliography.

The general arrangement of the sections remains the same as that in last year's article, but more attention has been given to works on the Pacific, and on Latin America. The course of events has made such a shift in emphasis necessary.

#### I

A useful guide to the general works covering the period between the wars is found in G. P. Gooch, *Bibliography of European History, 1918-39*, published as pamphlet no. 117 of the Historical Association. W. H. Mallory, *Political Handbook of the World*, and the *World Economic Survey, 1939-41*, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, are valuable handbooks. Two collections of cartoons, Low, *Europe at War*, and Arthur Szyk, *The New Order*, reveal the difference between the English and Continental views of Nazism. The former is essentially humorous, the latter biting.

Several volumes have appeared describing how Europe drifted into war. While the authors are not agreed in their emphasis as to what event really marked the turning point, they all concur in the belief that European statesmen and European politics were disastrously slow to awaken to the danger of the rise of National Socialism in Germany. This is the theme of Dwight E. Lee, *Ten Years—The World on the Way to War*; Claud Golding, *From Versailles to Danzig*; and G. G. Armstrong, *Why Another World War*. Alfred von Wegerer, in *The Origins of World War II*, attempts to make a German case, but his labours are largely in vain.

Other works which discuss the approach of war include W. H. Chamberlin, *The World's Iron Age*. The thesis here is "that since 1914 we have been experiencing a collapse of the predominantly liberal civilization of the XIX century. . . . From the shock of that war, civilization as it was known in Europe before 1914, never recovered. It broke down at its weakest point in Russia. . . . As a counter-stroke to Bolshevism, but with an ironically similar technique, came Fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany." The author points out the tendency of all the totalitarian regimes to develop into mere power machines with little concern for their original theoretical principles. Douglas Jerrold, in *Britain and Europe, 1900-1940* studies British diplomacy critically and presents the view of the right wing in England, blaming many of the disasters which befell British policy from 1920 to 1940 on the League of Nations and its supporters. J. Hampden Jackson, and Kerry Lee, in *Problems of Modern Europe* present in brief but graphic

<sup>1</sup>This is the eighth annual review article on this subject published in the June issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. The bibliography, on pp. 186-93, includes all the books and articles referred to in the text.

form the factual basis for many of Europe's difficulties. A. J. Toynbee (ed.), *Survey of International Affairs*, has now reached 1938.

## II

In addition to the more general works, many studies of individual countries have appeared. Sir Herbert Richmond in *British Strategy: Military and Economic* sets the broader aspects of British policy against the historical background since the reign of Elizabeth, and shows the fundamental importance of sea power in all Britain's relations with the Continent. Many writers have given us their impressions of England during the blitz and of the reactions of British people to the German aerial attack. Typical of these books are Quentin Reynolds, *A London Diary*; Margaret Kennedy, *Where Stands a Winged Sentry*; Harvey Klemmer, *They'll Never Quit*; Allan Nevins, *This is England Today*. Through all these works runs a strong undercurrent of confidence and of great admiration for the way the British public has stood up to terrific punishment.

France and her plight have been the subject of numerous volumes. Richard Walden Hale, *Democratic France*, with the subtitle *The Third Republic From Sedan 1871 to Vichy 1940*, attempts to explain the fall of France in terms of inherent defects in French democracy. It is not a profound volume and adds little to what the average reader already knows about the country. A much better book, one of the best on the French situation, is Thomas Kieran, *France on Berlin Time*. The author was on the Paris staff of "Vogue" and he tells at first hand of the trials and tribulations which attended the collapse, and the German occupation. His chapter on the currency situation is a particularly able one. He contends that through inflation France has been forced to pay a heavier reparation than that imposed on Germany in 1919. Jacques Maritain, *France My Country*, is a lament with a strong touch of mysticism, which blames the leaders, rather than the people for the disasters that have overtaken the country.

On Germany, two general works have appeared, W. M. McGovern, *From Luther to Hitler* and Emil Ludwig, *The Germans: Double History of a Nation*. Ludwig traces the duality of German development from the earliest period. At times he finds the creative and beautiful side of the German character dominant, at others, it gives way to the martial and violent. His thesis is that the German people are not responsible for Nazism, but his reasoning is not always convincing, and he uses an odd interpretation of responsibility. C. W. Guillebaud, *The Social Policy of Nazi Germany* discusses its aims, methods, achievements and shortcomings, with a view to explaining why the Nazis, in spite of their arbitrary actions, have been able to hold the support of a large portion of the German people. This little book is an excellent corrective for those who indulge in wishful thinking about internal collapse in Germany and a revival of German liberalism.

A sound and scholarly volume, *The Structure of the Nazi Economy*, has been done by Maxine Y. Sweezy. The analysis of the distribution of German wealth before and after Hitler throws some light on the reasons for the support by the masses of the present régime. A large number of books continue to come out on the aggressive spirit in Germany. Most of them try to draw a sharp line between Nazism and Germany. Among these are F. L. Neumann, *Behemoth: The Origins and Practice of National Socialism*; Joseph C. Harsch, *Pattern of Conquest*; Williams and Parry, *Riddle of the Reich*; Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics: From the Romantics to Hitler*. Two volumes which identify Nazism and Germany are Adolf Hitler, *My New Order*, and F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Germany the Aggressor Throughout the Ages*.

There have been several volumes on Russia. Anna Louise Strong examines

Russo-German relations in *The Soviets Expected it* and proves to her own satisfaction that the Russians knew what they were doing in their relations with Germany ever since they signed the pact in August, 1939. Three studies of the Russian people are E. Straus, *Soviet Russia: Anatomy of a Social History*, Manya Gordon, *Workers before and after Lenin*, and Walter Duranty, *The Kremlin and the People*. Joseph E. Davies gives an American's impression of Russia in *Mission to Moscow*, and Maurice Hindus makes a case for the Soviets in *Hitler Cannot Conquer Russia*. He claims that Hitler will not win the war because he cannot hold the Russian earth and Russian humanity.

Other European countries also come in for attention. Two books on Italy, T. B. Morgan, *Spurs on the Boot: Italy under her Masters* and Paolo Treves, *What Mussolini Did to Us*, try to prove that the Italian people have been hoodwinked by the Fascists, and virtually taken over by the Germans. The foreign minister of Norway, Halvdan Koht, has described the conquest and administration of this country by the Nazis in *Norway, Neutral and Invaded*, and Mrs. Florence Jaffray Harriman, the American Ambassador, describes her sojourn in that country in *Mission to the North*. The second volume (1697-1935) of *The Cambridge History of Poland* has appeared and no doubt will be a standard work on that subject. Contributors include both Slavic and Anglo-Saxon historians. Two full dress histories of the Ukraine, W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine, a History* and Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of the Ukraine*, add to the material in English on that little-known part of the Slavic World. The former is the more scholarly book; the latter is a posthumous work of a Ukrainian scholar and statesman who died in 1934 and is now published for the Ukrainian National Association. Professor G. W. Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan has added a small but very useful atlas, *Ukraine: An Atlas of its History and Geography*.

### III

The Far East has assumed a new importance on this continent since the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. Many of the studies in this area have been definitely dated by the spread of the war to this region, but others have stood the test of rapidly moving events somewhat better. The general political and economic situation in the South Pacific and its relations to the rest of the world are discussed by F. M. Keesing, *The South Seas in the Modern World*. The diplomatic and strategic considerations which prevailed prior to the outbreak of the war form the subject of Mark J. Gayn, *The Fight for the Pacific*, W. D. Puleston, *The Armed Forces of the Pacific* and C. A. Buss, *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*. Some of Captain Puleston's prophecies about the relative strength of Japanese and American forces have not been fulfilled in the early stage of war, but his book provides much useful information on the problem of strategy in the Pacific. The Royal Institute of International Affairs Information Paper, *China and Japan*, outlines the political and economic background of the Sino-Japanese War.

The situation in China is the subject of Paul M. A. Linebarger's, *The China of Chiang K'ai-Shek*. He describes the structure of the National Government and the functions of the Kuomintang. He thinks that the migration to West China, and the setting up of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives will probably be the most durable economic consequence of the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

Japanese foreign policy is powerfully arraigned by a Korean, Syngman Rhee, in *Japan Inside Out*. He traces the steps in Japanese aggression since the conquest of Korea, ending with an attack on pacifists, especially in the United States, who, he points out, are indirectly Japan's best allies. Hallet Abend, *Japan Unmasked*,

follows the same theme and draws attention to the dangers of continued Japanese expansion. Other works on the same subject are Carl Randau and Leane Zugsmith, *The Setting Sun of Japan*; Andrew Roth, *Japan Strikes South*; and Ching-Chun Wang, *Japan's Continental Adventure*. Kate L. Mitchell in *Japan's Industrial Strength* rates Japanese resources much higher than do most writers on the subject, and so far the course of the war has certainly lent weight to Miss Mitchell's contention. Two I.P.R. studies, Frank M. Tamagna, *Italy's Interests and Policies in the Far East*; and Roger Levy, *et al.*, *French Interests and Policies in the Far East*, deal with special aspects of the Far Eastern situation.

#### IV

The relationship of the United States to the world political scene was so completely changed by the outbreak of war in the Pacific that many publications prior to December 7 make strange reading already. Contentions that seemed important only a few months ago, have been settled, not by argument, but by enemy action.

The background of the American position in world affairs is well illustrated in the *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. The President was so correct in his diagnosis of the world situation that many of his political opponents found it difficult "to get back onside" quickly enough after the attack on Pearl Harbour. The President's papers illustrate clearly the slow but steady shaping of opinion that was attained in the United States under Roosevelt's leadership. Messrs. Shepardson and Scroggs have edited another volume of *The United States in World Affairs*, which covers the year 1940. There is a chapter on "Joint Action with Canada" which deals with the Ogdensburg meeting, the establishment of the Joint Defence Board, and the negotiations over the Alaskan Highway and the deepening of the St. Lawrence. Messrs. Jones and Myers have added another volume to their Documents on American Foreign Relations which comes down to June 1941. It too contains a section on Canadian-American relations, covering particularly mutual defence, limitation of naval vessels on the Great Lakes, and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

A general view of American foreign policy is provided by Robert Aura Smith, *Your Foreign Policy, How, What and Why*. Mr. Smith endeavours to show his fellow citizens "how this policy operates, what are the historic bases on which it is built and why the international activities of the Department of State are immediately important to every individual in the country."

Until six months ago, Isolation vs. Intervention was still the main issue in American foreign policy. The views of the isolationists are voiced by General Hugh Johnson in *Hell Bent for War*, and by Porter Sargent, in *Getting us into War*. The latter is a particularly extreme statement of the case. The Interventionist case is ably put forth by James P. Warburg in *Our War and Our Peace*; by E. M. Earle in *Against this Torrent*; by H. R. Luce, in *The American Century*, and Francis Hackett, in *What Mein Kampf Means to America*. The state of the nation's defences soon replaced the Isolationist-Interventionist controversy. It produced almost as sharp differences of opinion. Illustrations of these differences are to be found in Fletcher Pratt's *America and Total War*; J. F. Stone, *Business as Usual*; and Hanson W. Baldwin, *United We Stand; Defense of the Western Hemisphere*. Studies of particular aspects of American foreign policy include W. C. Johnstone, *The United States and Japan's New Order*, the conclusions of which were pointed by the attack on Pearl Harbour. Fred Alexander is a better prophet in his *Australia*

and the United States, in which he summarizes the relations of the two countries in the past two decades and foresees closer co-operation between them. Meno Lovenstein traces the change in American attitude toward the U.S.S.R. in *American Opinion of Soviet Russia*, which is published for the American Council on Public Affairs.

## V

The spread of the war has brought a new interest in Latin America. Political, economic, and strategic considerations have compelled North Americans to look more closely at their South and Central American neighbours, and mostly the population north of the Rio Grande knows very little about the rest of America.

A good popular account of this region, based on personal observation, but somewhat alienated from its historical background is John Gunther's *Inside Latin America*. The book is based on the same formula as the author's earlier works on Europe and Asia. One may quarrel with that approach, but there is no doubt that Mr. Gunther provides his readers with a series of vivid impressions of Latin America and a great deal of current information. Hubert Herring's *Good Neighbors* is a more scholarly work and has a more adequate historical background for the current problems that it sets forth. Most of the book is devoted to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, but seventeen other Latin American countries come in for some slight attention. A valuable summary of conditions in Latin America is provided in an Oxford pamphlet—*Latin America* by Robin A. Humphreys. Other works on the subject are Luis Galdames, *A History of Chile*, which is a full dress performance and the result of a life time of study; Lawrence Griswold, *The Other America*; and J. B. Trend, *South America with Mexico*. Gordon Ireland, *Boundaries, Possessions and Conflicts in Central and North America and the Caribbean* is a legal discussion of all the important boundary disputes that have taken place in this area.

Naturally enough it has been the attitude of the Latin American countries to the war which has aroused greatest interest. For a decade it was the competition of the Axis and British and American trade interests which drew attention. With the entrance of the United States into the war the interest came to centre on more important things than trade. A. E. Carter, *The Battle of South America*, traces the political, commercial, and psychological struggle that has been going on in South America between the opposing camps. Carleton Beals, *Pan America*, examines the same problem, adding a strong plea for more American attention to this important area. Fred J. Rippy in *South America and Hemisphere Defence*; and Charles Wertenbaker, *A New Doctrine for the Americas*; André Chéradame, *Defense of the Americas*; and Fleming MacLeish and Cushman Reynolds, *Strategy of the Americas*, all point out the dangers of the American position in Latin America through the activities of Axis agents and the indifference of the United States. They all advocate a concerted attempt to attain greater solidarity by meeting the reasonable demands of the Latin American states by providing them with the services that they require at this particular stage in their development.

The economic aspects of hemisphere solidarity are discussed by Percy W. Bidwell in *Economic Defense of Latin America*; and in a symposium published by the American Council on Public Affairs, edited by W. P. Everts, *The Economic Defense of the Western Hemisphere*. The latter also contains a chapter on "Canada as an American Problem," which discusses trends in Canadian-American trade.

## VI

Canada's foreign policy in the past year has been directed to furthering the war effort. The publications of the Director of Public Information, *Canada At War*, which are being issued monthly give a concise summary of the part that Canada is taking in the conflict. The same field is covered by Mr. King's speeches, published under the title *Canada at Britain's Side*. The Macmillan War Pamphlets, Canadian Series, cover particular aspects of the war effort, such as J. M. Gibbon, *The New Canadian Loyalists*; Irene Baird, *The North American Tradition*; Politicus, *Conscription*. S. A. Saunders and Eleanor Back make a plea for a greater war effort in *Come on, Canada!* published in the Live and Learn Series.

A large part of Canada's war effort has been directed into economic fields, and the war has revolutionized the Canadian economy. A. F. W. Plumptre, *Mobilizing Canada's Resources for War*, discusses the changes that have taken place in this regard. J. F. Parkinson (ed.), *Canadian War Economics*, is a collection of essays by recognized authorities on such subjects as "The Work of the Department of Munitions and Supply," "Financing the War," "Wartime Control of Prices," "Foreign Exchange Control," and "Economic Co-ordination of the War Effort." H. A. Logan, *Canada's Control of Labour Relations* in the Behind the Headlines Series is a good summary of the position of labour in Canada in war time; and the National Planning Association has issued a pamphlet on economic co-operation between Canada and the United States for defence purposes.

Canada's relations with other American countries is discussed by P. E. Corbett in an article "Canada in the Western Hemisphere" published in *Foreign Affairs*. One of the most important studies of the year as far as Canada is concerned is Charles J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*. This is a careful study which was begun as a doctoral thesis at the University of London. The manuscript was completed in 1938 and events since that date are not covered. Almost half of the book is devoted to Oriental immigration into Canada and to the status of Orientals in Canada. Mr. Woodsworth is very sympathetic to the Orientals and points out numerous disabilities under which they lived and which he thinks ought to be removed. Political and economic relations between Canada and the Orient are also discussed and there is a chapter on the very important missionary influence. "Quebec's Influence on Canadian Defence Policy" is discussed sympathetically by Miss E. H. Armstrong in an article in the *Inter-American Quarterly*.

## VII

A number of volumes can be classified topically more readily than geographically. The economic issues in the present conflict have attracted a large number of writers. Geoffrey Crowther, *Ways and Means of War*, is among the best. The author attempts to assess the relative economic strength of the Allies and Germany, the efficiency of the blockade, shipping, foreign exchange, and food supply. A sound and readable account of the economic issue is given by Douglas Miller, *You Can't Do Business with Hitler*, in which he shows what a Nazi victory in this war would mean to American business and to the American standard of living. The Royal Institute of International Affairs has prepared an Information Paper on *World Production of Raw Materials*, which discusses the chief sources of production of the important raw materials and appends a series of tables showing production by countries. Antonin Basch in *The New Economic Warfare* shows the way in which Germany has manipulated the trade and politics of other countries for the purpose of strengthening her own position and weakening theirs. He shows

how Germany used foreign trade as a weapon to cut off other countries from the economic support of the rest of the world and left them dependent upon, and the victims of, the most ruthless and ambitious military state that the world has ever seen. The same problem is discussed and the same conclusions reached by Cleona Lewis in *Nazi Europe and World Trade* and by Lewis L. Lorwin in the *Economic Consequences of the Second World War*. Paul Einzig describes the use that has been made of economic weapons in *Economic Warfare, 1939-40* and Margaret S. Gordon deplores the tariff situation with which the world is confronted in *Barriers to World Trade*.

Sea power has also been a vital factor in the conflict. Bernard Brodie in *Sea Power in the Machine Age* traces the technological improvement that has been made in the various navies since the coming of steam and analyses how each important change, and its relation to natural resources, has affected the fundamental problem of sea power. The steam warship, armour, the torpedo, mine, submarine, and air craft all come in for consideration. The importance of sea power is discussed by Paul Schubert in *Sea Power in Conflict*; Captain Russell Grenfell, *Sea Power*; and A. J. Marder, *The Anatomy of British Sea Power*. A Penguin special by A. C. Hardy, *World Shipping*, gives some sound factual information on trade routes, ship types, ports, coasts, and canals. Two books, Ivor Halstead, *Heroes of the Atlantic*, and Leo Walmsley, *Fishermen at War*, pay high tribute to the seamen who risk their lives constantly in the ordinary course of their commercial duties.

How Canadians get, or do not get, their news and information is discussed briefly in Carlton McNaught's, *How We Get our World News*, in the Behind the Headlines Series. Charles J. Rolo, in *Radio Goes to War*, illustrates the use of that medium for disseminating information in war time. The spy system used by various countries is the subject of R. W. Rowan's *Terror in Our Time*. He shows to what use espionage and secret police have been put to carry out surprise attack in the totalitarian states. Curt Riess in *Total Espionage* advocates that the democracies copy some of the Nazi technique.

The position of democracy in war time is examined by Pendleton Herring in *The Impact of War: Our American Democracy under Arms*. The author is concerned about the necessity of giving up certain fundamentals of democratic procedure in order to prosecute war successfully. Erich Fromm in *Escape from Freedom* offers a psychological explanation of why men support dictatorship and like it. Democratic society has tended, he claims, to isolate men from each other. "This sense of isolation may drive an individual to one of various forms of escape. It may drive a people to seek escape in blind devotion to a leader in utter submission to an all-powerful state, into a barbarous and sadistic program of aggression against minority groups of neighbor nations."

### VIII

The course of the war continues to be the subject of a rapidly increasing number of books. Edgar McInnis in the *Oxford Periodical History of the War*, which has appeared quarterly, although it is somewhat in arrears at the moment, is a good summary of the course of the conflict. The first eight numbers of this publication have been bound into two volumes entitled, *The War: First Year; The War: Second Year*. Francis Neilson, *The Tragedy of Europe*, sets out the events day by day and is a useful reference, but by necessity somewhat difficult to read. J. F.

Horrabin, *Atlas History of the Second Great War*, continues to appear and provides useful maps for the widening area of conflict.

Particular campaigns are described in a large number of works. Raoul Aglion, *War in the Desert*, describes numerous campaigns which have been fought in North Africa, and concludes with a disappointing chapter on the recent operations in Libya. The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs gives an official account of the campaign in that country under the title *Belgium*. "Strategicus" offers two volumes, *Can Britain be Invaded?*, a question which he answers in the negative, and the second one, *From Dunkirk to Benghazi*, dealing with later campaigns. Robert St. John's *From the Land of Silent People* is a journalist's account of the campaign in the Balkans and Crete. John Masefield's *Nine Days' Wonder* describes day by day, and very graphically, the withdrawal from Dunkirk; and Captain Sir Basil Bartlett gives his personal recollections of this same campaign in *My First War*.

The naval warfare is summarized by Gilbert Cant in *The War at Sea*. The Anglo-American convoy and patrol system is described by Forrest Davis in *The Atlantic System*. H. S. Thursfield, *Action Stations*, has some excellent photographs of naval equipment and is a companion volume to *Engines of War*. The naval engagement off Dakar, and the strategic importance of that port is the subject of Emil Lengyel, *Dakar: Outpost of Two Hemispheres*. Eric Linklater discusses the defence of Iceland, and the Faroe, Orkney and Shetland Islands in *The Northern Garrisons*. The activities of the Australian cruiser, *Sydney*, especially her seven months in the Mediterranean, are described by George H. Johnston in *Action at Sea: The Saga of the Sydney*.

The war in the air has been more spectacular and has attracted more writers. C. G. Grey has written *A History of the Air Ministry* which explains the administration of this branch of the service. The organization of *The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan* is discussed by I. Norman Smith. An Oxford pamphlet by E. Colston Shepherd, *The Military Aeroplane*, and a Penguin special by R. A. Saville-Sneath, *Aircraft Recognition*, help to explain some of the technical problems of the war in the air. The *Bomber Command* is described in an official publication of the air ministry and *Fighter Command* is a volume by A. D. Austin. The *R.A.F. in Action* contains some excellent photographs and is a companion to *Engines of War* and *Action Stations*. Personal experiences of flyers have been written by Paul Richey in *Fighter Pilot* and by Richard Hillary in *Falling through Space*. A German counterpart, Gottfried Leske, *I was a Nazi Flyer*, forms a sharp contrast to the first two, and illustrates the frame of mind into which at least one German aviator got himself during the blitz on England. David Garnett, *War in the Air*, gives an excellent account of the activities of the R.A.F. from September 1939 to May 1941. He compares the growth and strength of the German air force and the R.A.F. and offers an explanation of what became known as the period of thephony war.

## IX

The extent to which political theory has been influenced by the course of the war is seen in the works of many writers. While there has been no serious attempt by citizens of the Allied Nations to defend war as a social institution, it is apparent that there is less abhorrence of war than there was ten years ago. This does not mean that political theorists have altered their fundamental ideas about war, but merely that all of them accept the inevitability of conflict in the present imperfect state of world political organization. To avoid the costs of war, international organization will have to undergo a very thorough overhauling. All writers on

the subject are agreed up to that point; but as to ways and means of accomplishing the change there is a vast variety of opinion.

H. G. Wells surveys the general aspects of this problem in *The Common Sense of War and Peace*, a Penguin book. Count Carlo Sforza, in *The Totalitarian War and After*, reviews the course by which Europe was led into the war, and attempts to point out the mistakes that must be avoided if similar pitfalls are to be evaded in the future. J. D. Clarkson and T. C. Cochran present the views of twenty-six scholars in a collection of essays entitled *War as a Social Institution*. Harold Zink and Cole Taylor, *Government in Wartime Europe*, and Guenter Reimann, *The Myth of the Total State*, examine the practical application of the Nazi philosophy of government, and are very critical of it.

The changing emphasis on individual freedom is apparent in much of the political writing. H. J. Laski, *The Decline of Liberalism*, shows that leftists as well as rightists have little place for what used to be regarded in the Anglo-Saxon world as rights of individuals. J. C. Wedgwood and Allan Nevins have published selections in prose and verse written by defenders of freedom in England and America in the past centuries, under the title, *Forever Freedom*. Irwin Edman, *Fountainheads of Freedom*, and H. J. Sarkiss, *The Will to Freedom*, deal with the same subject.

The democratic theory of government and its relation to constitutionalism is discussed by C. J. Friedrich in *Constitutional Government and Democracy*. The difficulties of operating a democratic system of government in a complex society are set forth by Reginald Lennard in *Democracy: The Threatened Foundations*. Ways and means of improving democratic government and adjusting it to meet new social and economic conditions is the theme of Hermann Rauschning, *The Redemption of Democracy*, and of Julian Huxley, *Democracy Marches*. How democracy can be maintained by the process of education and learning is discussed by Geoffrey Bourne in *War, Politics, and Emotion*. A Canadian application of these theories is found in *Dynamic Democracy*, a pamphlet in the Behind the Headlines series, by Philip Child and John W. Holmes.

Many writers have put forth suggestions for the maintenance of law and order in the world after the war is over. The Harris Foundation Lectures delivered at the University of Chicago, published under the title, *The Foundations of a More Stable World Order*, edited by Walter H. C. Laves, discuss the fundamental conditions which must be achieved before there can be any hope for an orderly world. P. E. Corbett, *Post War Worlds* analyses previous attempts at international organization, and also more recent schemes which have been suggested for correcting the mistakes of the past but which have not as yet been tried out in practice. In the last section of the book the author sets forth the prerequisites of a world organization for permanent peace. These are discussed under the heads, political, social, economic, judicial, administrative. Jackson H. Ralston discusses the same issue in terms of international law in *A Quest for International Order*. Other works which outline various schemes for maintaining a more orderly world are: A. R. Wurtele, *When Peace Comes*; Lord Davies, *Foundations of Victory*; E. H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace*; Hans Heymann, *Plan for Permanent Peace*; H. M. Wriston, *Prepare for Peace*; and Ernest Bevin, *The Balance Sheet of the Future*. In sharp contrast to most of the writers on the post-war world, Lionel Gelber in *Peace by Power*, advocates that the world be kept straight by a judicious use of force, without any apologies, or hypocrisy.

Federation still remains one of the most popular panaceas for the world's

troubles. The case for federation is set forth by Lord Davies in *A Federated Europe*, and by R. W. G. MacKay in *Peace Aims and the New Order*. The "Federal Tracts" deal with specific aspects of federation such as Norman Bentwich, *The Colonial Problem and the Federal Solution* and C. E. M. Joad, *The Philosophy of Federalism*. Extracts from the works of leading advocates and opponents of the scheme are collected by Julia E. Johnsen in *International Federation of Democracies*.

Particular aspects of the post-war problem are discussed by various authorities, such as A. N. Holcombe, *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World*; Charles Reith, *Police Principles and the Problem of War*; Floyd Howland, *Dynamic Peaceful Change*; and P. H. Winfield, *The Future and Foundations of International Law*. Solomon F. Bloom in *The World of Nations* outlines the relationship of Marxian socialism and nationalism in the principal countries of Europe, and Margaret E. Burton, *The Assembly of the League of Nations*, is a sympathetic treatment of the achievements of that organization, with many suggestions as to methods of avoiding the difficulties which the League encountered.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Unknown Country: Canada and her People.* By BRUCE HUTCHISON. New York: Coward-McCann [Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company]. 1942. Pp. x, 386. (\$4.50)

*America and World Mastery: The Future of the United States, Canada, and the British Empire.* By JOHN MACCORMAC. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce [Toronto: Collins]. 1942. Pp. x, 338. (\$3.50)

BOTH these books are written by Canadians who are newspapermen. Mr. Hutchison's is a distinctive and excellent depiction of the Canadian scene which deserves the widest possible public in Canada. Mr. MacCormac's references to Canada are incidental to his main thesis, which is that it is a vital interest of the United States to enter into a permanent alliance with Great Britain. His adopted land, he declares, enters now upon the fateful hour of her destiny and cannot avoid assuming the full responsibility of the greatest power in the world. He argues with force and conviction that assumption of those responsibilities can be made most palatable to the United States by full co-operation with Great Britain. His argument is very largely a review of what was once called "The Ancient Grudge," and an appeal to the American people to forget it. He is fearful of Union Now, but believes that Anglo-American dominance of the post-war world will be more palatable to the outside world if it is enclosed in "a larger framework," the outline of which he leaves to others.

Mr. MacCormac's references to Canada are disfigured (as was his former book *Canada: America's Problem*) by his violent dislike—to put it mildly—of Mr. Mackenzie King. The result, so far as Canadians are concerned, is sad reading, and it is difficult to remember that this pamphleteer is really working on a good idea as one discovers inaccuracy after inaccuracy in his account of Canada's entry into and participation in the war, every one of which is designed to show the Canadian Prime Minister in a discreditable light. A page and a half, for instance, is devoted to an attempt to discredit the Canadian government for not declaring war simultaneously with Great Britain. Mr. MacCormac goes so far as to suggest that Mr. King was forced into announcing his policy by the Social Credit group in parliament. He ignores the fact that on September 1, 1939, the day on which parliament was summoned, a government statement announced the policy to be to ask parliament to authorize "effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Great Britain, if Great Britain should be engaged in war in the effort to resist aggression." It is a fact, admitted fairly freely, that Canada's delayed entry into the war was a potent factor in proving to North America as a whole that the war engaged issues which were not imperialist in nature. Mr. MacCormac ignores this. He berates Mr. King soundly for not using Canadian influence to combat isolationist opposition to the Lease-Lend bill in March, 1941. He might have mentioned the not unimportant fact that, had Canada, directly or indirectly urged that legislation upon the American public, the isolationists would have had another stick with which to beat Great Britain for employing "propaganda" methods. Canadian silence may or may not have been wise. It was not as bad as this great King-hater makes it out to be.

This section of the book is full of errors of which lack of space prevents the full listing. For instance, Mr. MacCormac mis-states the date on which compulsory training for home defence was instituted; and he ignores the fact that the bill

authorizing it passed parliament in the summer of 1940 without a recorded dissenting vote though it contains the explicit re-statement of the anti-conscription pledge. His sole reference to the problem of full French-Canadian participation in wars originating in Europe is one directed to show that the problem no longer exists.

Like many others of his kind, Mr. MacCormac is full of praise of Australia at the expense of Canada. He declares that Australia "as a manufacturer of munitions has surpassed Canada." This is simply untrue. On page 275 he lauds the realization by Australia that the defence of Singapore and the islands of the southwest Pacific is properly part of Australian defence "just as it would have been natural, except for the supine attitude of the Mackenzie King Government for Canada to assume responsibility for all British possessions in the Western Hemisphere during the war." Australia has had as good luck defending her strategic screen as Canada would have had, had she in 1939-40 assumed responsibilities in defence which were wholly beyond her strength and been forced to meet a full-scale attack. Mr. MacCormac's dislike of Mr. King leads him to ignore many realities which in other contexts and vis-à-vis other governments he takes into full account. The book is badly marred by his prejudice.

As a corrective to Mr. MacCormac's writings it is a pleasure to refer the reader to Mr. Hutchison. *The Unknown Country* is not in the main a discussion of Canada's public problems. But in it there will be found a much more just account of Mr. Mackenzie King's activities than Mr. MacCormac gives of them. In Mr. Hutchison's hands they at least make sense, whereas the only inference from Mr. MacCormac's picture is that the man is an imbecile. Says Mr. Hutchison:

Mr. King is a great man by almost any definition. You may not like him, and many do not, wasting their entire lives in hatred of him. But you cannot deny him. . . . In Canadian politics his chief accomplishment is . . . the unity he has produced between the two Canadian races, even though it has often been by the method of doing as little as possible about anything. In British Empire politics he has achieved the final independence of Canada, written into statute law the right of Canada to make foreign treaties, declare war or remain neutral in Britain's war while, at the same time, he has led Canada into the largest measure of co-operation with Britain, the deepest war sacrifices, in its history. Perhaps his greatest work is in bringing together Canada and the United States. . . .

History must decide whether Mr. King was master of the event or merely its reflection and a contemporary judgment on that point is of very little value. Certainly he has never hurried the event, always let it catch up with him and sometimes push him rudely from behind, but in the end things generally turned out as he desired. This does not make for spectacular politics and Mr. King is not spectacular. He carries no torch and makes no great phrases and his governments have no more sex appeal than Donald Duck. . . . History will study him not for himself alone but as the master and victim of the last twenty years in Canada—years of hesitation, doubt, confusion, vacillation, growth in part but failure on the whole; an era when not only Canada but all the democratic nations of the world were tired and a little mad; a period which has finally crystallized into something better and stronger in the war.

But that is more than enough about Mr. King. Bruce Hutchison's book is not wholly or even chiefly a study of Canadian public affairs. It is partly autobiography, partly a travel story, interspersed with bits of fine writing which, offhand, seem to serve no other purpose than to please the eye and ear. But this is deceptive. The merit of the book is greater than that.

Professional historians tend more and more to be specialists in narrow fields, their published work intensively written monographs on sharply delimited subjects. To these, and to every teacher of history in Canada, *The Unknown Country* will be valuable background; for somehow or other Canada as a whole emerges from its

pages which are written with a glowing passion that is rare in books about Canada and Canadians. There is sentiment, much sentiment, in *The Unknown Country* and there is little of that salutary astringency that is sometimes a valuable tincture to add to such a mixture. But it is a relief to find a writer who is not ashamed to wear his heart on his sleeve and an even greater relief—after Mr. MacCormac's jaundiced diatribe—to find one who does not disguise his country's faults but who writes of them and of its good points as well with love and intelligent understanding.

I have said *The Unknown Country* has merits which give it value to teachers of history. The chief of these is this: through the book's fantastic pattern there is a thread held always firmly in the author's hand. It is the perception that Canada, in spite of all the many centripetal forces operating within it, is a nation. He searches constantly for those highest common denominators which exist from Prince Edward Island to British Columbia, and can be found within the heart of the Chicoutimi habitant and the Cariboo cowboy. But he never forgets the complexity of Canadian life, the diverse problems that face the Lunenburg fisherman and the farmer on the Regina plains, the British Columbia logger, and the man on a Windsor assembly line. With a genius, unconscious but always Canadian, he fits all these various people into their places in the jigsaw puzzle of the Dominion. Above all he never forgets for a moment that Canada is half a continent, sparsely settled, her people far from homogeneous in ethnic origin, customs and modes of life, and afflicted always by regional and racial problems each one of which must be inevitably mirrored in her national politics if the gossamer fabric of her unity is to be preserved. This is Mr. Hutchison's highest skill and it gives his book an authenticity rare indeed in the record of our literature.

Something of the book's flavour can be found in his introduction which will, we hope, excite many more readers than this reviewer to go further into his pages. It is from a few pages entitled "My Country":

No one knows my country, neither the stranger nor its own sons. My country is hidden in the dark and teeming brain of youth upon the eve of its manhood. My country has not found itself nor felt its power nor learned its true place. It is all visions and doubts and hopes and dreams. It is strength and weakness, despair and joy, and the wild confusions and restless strivings of a boy who has passed his boyhood but is not yet a man.

A problem for America they call us. As well call a young thoroughbred a problem because he is not yet trained and fully grown. A backward nation they call us beside our great neighbor—this though our eleven millions have produced more, earned more, subdued more, built more than any other eleven millions in the world. A colony they have thought us though we have rebelled and fought and bled for the right to our own government and finally produced the British Commonwealth of equal nations. A timid race they have called us because we have been slow to change, because we have not mastered all the achievements nor all the vices of our neighbors. . . .

No, they could not know us, the strangers, for we have not known ourselves.

Long we have been a-growing, but with strong bone and sure muscle—of two bloods, French and British, slow to be reconciled in one body. We have been like a younger boy in the shadow of two older brothers, and, admiring their powers, watching the pageant of England and the raging energy of America, we have not learned our own proud story nor tested our own strength. But no longer are we children. Now our time is come and if not grasped will be forever lost.

Now must we take shape, crystallize, and harden to a purpose. No people of our numbers has ever occupied such a place before in the flood tide of history, for we are of two worlds, the Old and the New, one foot in each, knowing England, knowing America, joined to each by blood and battle, speech and song. We alone are the hinge between them, and upon us hangs more than we know. . . .

Yes, but we have not grasped it yet, the full substance of it, in our hands, nor glimpsed its size and shape. We have not yet felt the full pulse of its heart, the flex

of its muscles, the pattern of its mind. For we are young, my brothers, and full of doubt, and we have listened too long to timid men. But now our time is come and we are ready.

G. V. FERGUSON

Winnipeg.

*The Social Development of Canada: An Introductory Study with Select Documents.*  
By S. D. CLARK. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. x, 484. (\$4.00)

THE first few pages of this book leave the reader in some doubt as to its scope and purpose. Professor Clark in his Preface states that his aim is to "suggest lines of approach" to the study of "sociological problems" in Canadian history. In his Introduction and also in his title, he suggests on the other hand that he is providing a framework for a history of "social development" in Canada. An examination of the book as a whole makes clear that it should be appraised on the basis of the narrower aim.

The pattern throughout is very clearly marked. The Introduction states that emphasis "has been placed upon the particular problem of the relationship of frontier economic expansion in Canada . . . to the development of social organization." Five sections are then given to "The Fur Trade and Rural Society in New France," "The Fisheries and Rural Society in the Maritime Colonies," "The Timber Trade and Rural Society in Upper Canada," "Mining Society in British Columbia and the Yukon," and "Transcontinental Railways and Industrial-Capitalist Society." Each section has an introductory essay followed by selections of source material arranged under four heads, "Social Welfare," "Crime and the Moral Order," "Cultural Organization and Education," and "Religious Institutions."

The theme or "thesis," to use the author's own word, is the influence of the frontier in causing stresses and strains out of which sociological problems have emerged. The frontier, it appears, therefore, has been a disruptive influence, and considerable attention is given to the inadequacy of social agencies—schools, penal institutions, churches, etc.—to deal with the problems which confronted them in the areas and in the periods under consideration. Much of the book is concerned with departures from the norm of social conduct, crime, moral delinquency, manifestations of extremism in religion, and so forth.

Mr. Clark's approach, as it is outlined above, is illuminating for the study of the emergence of sociological problems, but it is not that of the social historian. This distinction is important since both approaches are desirable and they will do much to complement each other if the distinction is kept clearly in view. The difference in the two approaches is clear, for instance, in the case of Upper Canada. From Mr. Clark's point of view Upper Canada in the years 1812-50 produced severe manifestations of social disorganization as compared with the period immediately preceding. From the point of view of general social history these years were, however, primarily a period of constructive development rather than of increasing disorganization. They were a formative period in which the distinctive institutions and points of view of the province took shape.

One illustration will clarify this point. On pages 212 and 279-83 Mr. Clark points out the defects of education in Upper Canada. What he says is true enough, but from the point of view of the social historian the accomplishments rather than

the defects are the important feature of this period. By 1850 Upper Canada had three universities, one of them a provincial university organized on a non-sectarian basis. One of the others, Victoria University, had been established as Upper Canada Academy by the first Charter of its kind ever granted by the Crown to a dissenting body. The province also had the well-organized beginnings of a system of state-supported education. If these accomplishments are compared with contemporary developments in the United States or England, it is clear that Upper Canada may claim to be a pioneer in the development of democratic education.

The foregoing illustration suggests another point. The student of sociological problems may largely confine himself, as Mr. Clark does, to the frontier as a conditioning influence. The social historian must, however, take a broader view. Defects in education were by no means confined to Upper Canada or even to frontier communities, as Dickens clearly showed in describing the immortal Mr. Squeers in *Nicholas Nickleby*. Upper Canada's problem was in fact the problem of the period in a particular setting. The same is true of the manifestations of religious extremism. There were groups in England which displayed just as much emotionalism as did the camp meetings of Upper Canada. This is not to underestimate the influence of the frontier, but it must be put by the social historian in its due place among other influences. There has been a wholesome tendency in the United States to do this in recent years as compared with the earlier tendency of "frontier determinists" who went beyond Turner himself in insisting on the importance of the frontier to the exclusion of other considerations.

Space precludes a treatment of other general points of interpretation as well as of points of detail, such as the remark (p. 22) that the influence of Egerton Ryerson "might be described in some respects as 'boss' rule." Professor Sissons's article in this issue provides an interesting corrective to this observation.

Mr. Clark's book is welcome on several grounds. It is a pioneer effort covering a very wide range in small compass. The introductory essays throw out many illuminating observations and suggestions, and the attempt to analyse social problems in terms of conflicting forces in the community opens up a field of research in which we look forward to further contributions from the author. The book provides a considerable body of source material which must be used with care if its significance is to be accurately appraised, but which is made accessible for the first time. It also points to types of material and topics for investigation which have been too much neglected by the general historian. Finally, by following the historical approach to sociological problems Mr. Clark has by implication emphasized the desirability of maintaining a spirit of understanding among the various groups included under that rather vague designation "social scientists"—a sentiment which this reviewer cordially reciprocates.

GEORGE W. BROWN

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*Les Cahiers des Dix.* No. 6. Drummondville, P.Q.: La Parole Itée. 1941. Pp. 301. THE sixth series of *Les Cahiers des Dix* contains the following studies: "Les Peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel" by Mgr Olivier Maurault; "Les Chicane de préséance sous le régime français" by P.-G. Roy; "L'abbé Etienne Chartier" by Francis-J. Audet; "La Féodalité a vécu" by Victor Morin; "Croyances des anciens Iroquois" by Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne; "Les Voyages vers 1800" by l'abbé Albert Tessier; "Les Coureurs de bois au XVIIe siècle" by Gérard Malchelosse; "Autour

d'une décision judiciaire sur la langue française" by Maréchal Nantel; "Au Hasard des recherches" by E.-Z. Massicotte; also a posthumous work by Aegidius Fauteux, "Trois Siècles de missions canadiennes"; and a biographical note on Aegidius Fauteux by Mgr Olivier Maurault. This enumeration alone shows the importance and interest of the collection.

Aegidius Fauteux merits a place of honour in such a work: Mgr Maurault, who knew him well, gives us here a substantial sketch, but probably incomplete. The life of Fauteux was filled with a multiplicity of conscientious works; when his papers have been classified, when his correspondence, at present scattered, has been collected, there will be reason to raise to his memory the fine monument which he deserves, that is, a complete biography and bibliography.

Fauteux's article on the Canadian missions (pp. 19-47) dates from 1931 and was not published, probably because the author wished to complete certain points. As it stands, this study paints a good picture of Fauteux: he has respect for the opinions of others; he does not make a decision where a doubt exists; he proceeds with prudence. From this point of view he remains a model to be imitated. One might point out, however, that, speaking of the intellectual value of the Jesuits (p. 32) he has not mentioned their celebrated Collège de Québec, a daring undertaking and the centre of intellectual life; one feels also that the assertion (p. 36) is exaggerated that the secular clergy "had remained more than seven years without the power of adding to their number, because of the obstinacy of the government in refusing to nominate a bishop at Quebec." Actually, the affair remained suspended from the death of Mgr de Pontbriand, in 1760, to the Treaty of Paris (1763), and M. Briand only waited eighteen months at the most in order to obtain the authorization solicited.

Mgr Maurault's study on "Les Peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel" is of great interest. It discusses a contemporary enterprise and the author deserves praise for having understood its importance and for having drawn it to the attention of the public.

M. Pierre-Georges Roy, fine historian that he is, has amused himself in bringing to light "Les Chicane de préséance sous le régime français." He cites six typical cases. Similar affairs approached tragedy and paralysed the functioning of the administration. M. Victor Morin also discusses this subject briefly (pp. 231-2); he takes us back to France itself, which is a happy idea for our virtues and our faults have their origin there!

M. l'abbé Albert Tessier's study throws light on "Les Voyages vers 1800." Modern progress prevents us from understanding the practice of former times. M. Tessier, however, possesses the ability of being able to reconstruct the past—it is like an intuition with him. His work is very well documented (reference to source material is perhaps lacking?) and very vivid.

In his memoir on "Les Coureurs de bois au XVIIe siècle," M. Malchelosse has not attempted to make a very complete and definitive study. But he brings out very well certain aspects of the life of these extraordinary men. The references to the *Dictionnaire de Lejeune* might be replaced by an indication of the sources themselves (pp. 111, 130, 139). An interesting assertion is that war broke out in 1688 "with the Iroquois and, in addition, with New England, through the fault of the coureurs de bois" (p. 139). This will merit a more precise study some day. What the author has to say about agriculture and about the "constant carelessness" of the metropolitan and colonial administration in this country, deserves attention. The first weakness of Canadian agriculture was a result of the organiza-

tion of the Companies. If one rereads the charter of the Hundred Associates, one will see that Richelieu forced the Company to send here "men of all trades"; these are not peasants—as he says on page 68—nor farmers, nor horticulturists; they are not men trained for the hard task of clearing land. The word "trade," in the seventeenth century, had to do with "mechanical" skills, according to the dictionaries of the time; moreover, Richelieu himself makes clear his idea when he says that these men of all trades will be able, after having practised their trade in New France, to return to France and enter into the regular corporations. Therefore, the first colonists, in the great majority of cases tradesmen and soldiers, had not the necessary training for agriculture, and, despite the fine efforts of Laval, there was always a lack of competence in agricultural development amongst French-Canadian farmers. Murray notes this in 1762 in his first report to London, and Durham also mentions it in his report of 1839.

M. Maréchal Nantel's study is concerned with the conclusions which he draws from "Une Décision judiciaire sur la langue française en Canada." His work is interesting and useful. M. Nantel writes: "It has been maintained, in certain circles, that the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763 had as its object the substitution of English laws for French laws, in the colony" (p. 157). The author interprets the meaning of this Proclamation by the letter that the Count of Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to Governor Guy Carleton in 1768. This point is very well taken. But cannot another explanation also be advanced? This Proclamation was not prepared for French Canadians alone; it applied to *four* new provinces: Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and the Granada group. It must necessarily keep a general character; it could not conform exactly with the situation in the province of Quebec, the only one which had an imposing number of French and Catholics (70,000).

The third centenary of Montreal has provided an excellent occasion for M.E.-Z. Malchelosse to describe the picturesque corners of old Montreal, and he has succeeded very well indeed: the public hall of the seventeenth century, the postal service between Quebec and Montreal under the French régime, the palace of the intendants and the mansion house, also four figures of importance, Pierre Fortier, Malard, Beaudry, Rodier, provide rich material for exploitation. With regard to André Grasset of St-Sauveur (p. 169), the general reader and the English-Canadian reader will require some explanation of the word "martyr."

The Iroquois were the cause of so much harm to New France that we study them with care. M. Beaugrand-Champagne has set himself the task of examining their beliefs. His study on the "Iroquois vestals" (pp. 202-5) offers a good discussion of this curious custom.

M. Francis-J. Audet has chosen as his subject, "L'abbé Etienne Chartier," the famous chaplain of the patriots of 1837-8. His study is very timely; it might serve as a guide for the clergy of today to prevent ardent souls from neglecting the rules of prudence and throwing themselves into movements of doubtful origin. The abbé Chartier, writes M. Audet, "brought up from his early youth in the hatred of the English, by a father who had taken the part of the American revolutionists in 1775-76; placed in the Séminaire de Québec which was not exactly a school which fostered love for the masters of the country, studied law in Montreal which was dominated by Papineau already engaged in a struggle to the death against Lord Dalhousie" (pp. 213-14). M. Audet is right in seeing in this hatred a decisive factor in the attitude taken by M. Chartier. Exception could perhaps be taken to the assertion concerning the Séminaire de Québec. In fact, the Ar-

chives of the Séminaire de Québec preserve some correspondence between the bishop and the Séminaire in 1840; the bishop wished to acquire some built-up property near the Séminaire; the latter refused completely, giving as its reason the fact that if it consented to the transaction, it would be obliged to close the place where English was taught!

Much ink has flowed on the question of the seignorial régime. M. Victor Morin presents here a full study on this subject. He says that "feudalism is dead" in Canada and he does not think that it is a bad thing. The régime rendered service, and is an important part of what we call "our traditions," but we will do without it henceforth without fear of becoming less Canadian. The author deserves praise for having taken the question back into its French and European milieu (pp. 226-39). When M. Morin speaks of the fact that M. Maisonneuve "was ill-used by envious slanderers" (p. 249), one begins to hope that one day he will write a study on the influence of calumny and envy in our history. These pages, which do not contribute to the glory of the past, will perhaps have the advantage of removing forever from the mind of youth a sentiment and a practice which have done great harm to our national life.

These *Cahiers* are well printed and edited; one might, however, quarrel with such a typographical error as "exhorbitantes" (for "exorbitantes") on page 254; or a word little used but definitely French like "méticulosité" (p. 190), or "mobilisme" (p. 85) which the dictionary reserves for bee-hives and . . . philosophy. The alphabetical index which covers twelve pages (pp. 288-300) seems to be very complete and correct. The work is certainly a contribution to Canadian historical literature.

ARTHUR MAHEUX

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*Robert Dinwiddie: His Career in American Colonial Government and Westward Expansion.* By LOUIS KNOTT KOONTZ. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1941. Pp. 429. (\$3.50)

WHEN Robert Dinwiddie was commissioned lieutenant-governor of the Colony of Virginia, July 4, 1751, French and English diplomats, alike in dreading a colonial collision between the two powers in either hemisphere that might bring about a new war, would have agreed also in not regarding the Ohio Valley as an immediate danger point. India, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, even the upper valley of the St. Lawrence were points at which an adjustment of colonial rivalries seemed much more important. A year later English and French officials were alike aware of the threat to peace in the Ohio Valley and in the events which led steadily to the armed outbreak between the two nations. The protagonists on the side of New France were successively two naval officers, one worn-out, credulous and avaricious; the other a harsh, self-confident martinet. Opposed to La Jonquière and Duquesne was Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia whose portrait, full length, Mr. Koontz has presented in this volume.

In the mid-eighteenth century the governorship of Virginia was a sinecure reserved for some courtier-general whom the king delighted to honour. He condescended to a financial arrangement for a division of the proceeds of the office with the lieutenant-governor who was resident and who actually did the work. In Dinwiddie's case, the place-holder with whom he had to divide was that highly connected, dissipated spendthrift, the Earl of Albemarle, ambassador at

Versailles until his death of apoplexy December 22, 1754. In defence of Dinwiddie's exaction of a fee of one *pistole* for sealing each land patent, Mr. Koontz alleges, and with truth, that Dinwiddie had to find money somewhere to satisfy both his own needs and those of Albemarle's. A more detached point of view might be that there was something fundamentally wrong with saddling sinecurists on the backs of the colonists. In justice to Albemarle, it should be said that when affairs in Virginia became acute in 1754 he offered to go there in person and assume command (British Museum, Add. MSS. 32736: 564v). He also proffered a remark about George Washington which in the light of history is a little amusing. "Washington and many such," he said, "may have courage and resolution, but they have no knowledge or experience in our Profession, consequently there can be no dependence on Them" (Add. MSS. 32850: 290v).

The Robert Dinwiddie who under these circumstances gave his London agent an order for a military uniform suitable to his martial career in Virginia came of an ancient Scottish family. He was born near Glasgow in 1693. In early life he engaged in the pottery business and in 1721 accepted an appointment as a representative of the Admiralty on the island of Bermuda. In 1738 he became surveyor-general of customs for the southern district of America, his jurisdiction extending from Pennsylvania to Jamaica. He took up his residence forty-six miles from Williamsburg, Virginia and proceeded to vindicate his right to full membership in the Virginia Council after a controversy with the members of the Council as to whether his commission of surveyor-general entitled him to it. Then a series of deaths and declinations advanced Dinwiddie to the place where he was the logical choice for lieutenant-governor of the Old Dominion. In November, 1751, he arrived at his post from England.

Dinwiddie was actively associated with that Ohio Company that is so much a puzzle in the ways of British officialdom with the colonies in the mid-eighteenth century. Neither Mr. Koontz nor his predecessor, Mr. Bailey, has given a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the reason why the Board of Trade interested itself so actively in over-ruling the Virginia authorities and pressing on the grant of 200,000 acres at the Forks of the Ohio. Imperial farsightedness has been imputed to the British authorities, but a cynically-minded person acquainted with the springs of official activity in London knows there must have been political influence stronger perhaps than that of the Hanburys themselves. The isolationist planters of the Virginia tidewater, over-represented in the House of Burgesses, persisted in regarding it as a private land speculation and were backward in taxing themselves in support of England against France on the upper Ohio. Their conduct need not be excused, but it can at least be understood.

From 1752 until Dinwiddie's departure from Virginia January 12, 1758, the story of the struggle has been deeply engraved on the records of American history. Mr. Koontz, on the basis of the Dinwiddie papers and other materials enlarges and illustrates but does not in essentials alter that story; he offers rather a documentation and a biography that says about everything that can be said about the life of the man whom fate cast for one of the official roles in the drama.

If a fault can be found in Mr. Koontz's work, it is that he is a little prone to take Dinwiddie at his own valuation and to accept at face value Dinwiddie's justifications of his course. The problem of the southern, southwestern, and western Indians has in its complications until recently escaped historians because the materials for it are buried in the colonial archives of South Carolina. In its simplest form it was a duel between the French governor of Louisiana and the

English governor of South Carolina for the control of the great southern tribes, the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw. There were complications of trade on both sides in which the rivalries of Georgia and Virginia traders with their more important South Carolina competitors tangled the whole matter. Complications were introduced also by intermittent difficulties between the Catawba and the Cherokee and the Iroquois to the northward, while the attitude of the western tribes, especially the Shawnee toward the southern ones brings additional intricacies into the situation. A colonial genius like the Comte de la Galissonnière might by sheer intuition divine the difficulties of the problem but a surveyor-general of customs promoted to be lieutenant-governor of Virginia could hardly hope to be equally fortunate. The present reviewer holds no brief for Governor Glen of South Carolina but he certainly came far closer to understanding the problem than Dinwiddie whose efforts in that direction much resemble those of the proverbial bull in the proverbial china shop. As a single illustration, the factor which more than any other in the years 1755 and 1756 turned the western Indians against the English was the fear of those Cherokee war parties which Dinwiddie persistently tried to summon.

However, this is merely saying that Mr. Koontz has not written a perfect book. The book which he has written is a very good and a very useful one.

THEODORE C. PEASE

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*Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania*. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, in co-operation with the Work Projects Administration. Edited by SYLVESTER K. STEVENS and DONALD H. KENT. Harrisburg, Pa.; Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1941. Pp. xx, 342.

*The Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet*. Series 21631-2, 21634, 21643-6, 21652-4. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, in co-operation with the Work Projects Administration. Edited by SYLVESTER K. STEVENS and DONALD H. KENT. Harrisburg, Pa.; Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1940-2.

*Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* is the first of a series of publications of original documents bearing upon the history of western and northwestern Pennsylvania projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. It begins with a section of documents relative to "The Discovery of Northwestern Pennsylvania," the first of which is a report by Governor Beauharnais of Canada to the Count de Maurepas, Minister of Marine, of measures taken in 1724 to move the Shawnee Indians nearer Canada. Many documents here presented are to be found in print elsewhere; most of the others are taken from the transcripts and photostats from the *Archives Nationales* and the British Museum in the Library of Congress. Taken altogether, this is a very useful collection of documents for the history of Northwestern Pennsylvania, particularly the upper Allegheny Valley in the period of its earliest settlement, the Anglo-French rivalry, and Pontiac's war. It is fairly well edited, with helpful footnotes, a brief bibliography, and an index; the translations from the French are not always as satisfactory as might be desired.

*The Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet* is a much more ambitious project, as it is proposed to bring out in mimeograph form all the voluminous correspondence to and from this picturesque Swiss officer. At the time of the writing of this

review ten out of a projected thirty (more or less) volumes have appeared. These documents, taken almost entirely from the series from the British Museum in The Library of Congress, follow the British Museum scheme of numbering and classification.

The first volume published was Series 21634, containing the correspondence between Bouquet and General Amherst between 1759 and 1763. This volume is doubtless one of the most significant in the series, since it throws an intimate light upon the Anglo-French struggle for empire in the region of Pennsylvania and the Indian war that followed the Peace of Paris of 1763. It contains Bouquet's report of the decisive battle with the Indians at Bushy Run in August, 1763. Other notable volumes are those (Series 21652, 21653, 21654) covering Bouquet's outgoing correspondence and other miscellaneous documents for this same period and a little later. These four volumes, taken together, constitute a very valuable collection of documents in the history of this phase of the Anglo-French struggle. Series 21631 and 21632 (published together) are Bouquet's letter books for the years 1757 and 1758, when he was in South Carolina; Series 21643 is made up of incoming letters to him, during this same period at the beginning of his service to England in America. Series 21644 (in two volumes) contains miscellaneous letters to Bouquet during the year 1759; Series 21645 and 21646 contain similar letters during 1760 and 1761.

Bouquet was one of the most picturesque and brilliant of many "foreign" officers who came to America during the Seven Years' War, and he contributed enormously to the triumph of British expansion over the rival French empire in the American wilderness. The publication of his papers is a gratifying addition to the materials for the history of that struggle, as well as for the epic conflict between the white men and the red. It is a pity the work is not done in a more scholarly fashion, however, for there are no footnotes and no editorial explanations, the translations from the French are sometimes faulty, and the indices are of proper names only. Such as it is, nevertheless, it is a very useful and commendable publication.

MAX SAVELLE

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*Charles Williamson—Genesee Promoter—Friend of Anglo-American Rapprochement.*

By HELEN I. COWAN. (The Rochester Historical Society Publications, XIX.)

Rochester: The Society, Rundel Memorial Building. 1941. Pp. xx, 356.

This is the story of the opening and early settlement of the Genesee country in western New York State. In the background sits the old Scottish lawyer and member of parliament who had acquired the land, the fortune, and the family name of the heiress of the Earl of Bath—Sir William Johnstone Pultney. He supplied the money, seventy-five thousand pounds, for the purchase of this million-acre tract in 1791, and he sank nearly two hundred thousand pounds in developing it. In the foreground, moving around so actively that he fills most of it, is a younger Scot, Captain Charles Williamson, who sold his British commission and sailed for America in 1781, was captured at sea and, as a comfortable prisoner of war in Massachusetts, fell in love with the new country, marrying one of its daughters. After returning home with her when peace ended his political captivity, he was introduced to the British capitalist, who sent him back with a free hand to serve as resident agent of this huge property. Because no foreigner could then be invested

with the title, he straightway became an American citizen by simply swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, and for about a decade he was the nominal owner of the land his patron had bought.

During this short period Williamson made the Genesee country. He was a born promoter, and he was something much more. He had the spirit of a grand Scottish laird. The welfare of the growing society over which he presided was his absorbing interest, and he spent with a lavish hand as long as the old man in London continued to honour his drafts without any question. When Williamson began, the only way into the country was the old Mohawk trail, connecting it with New England and lower New York; and he quickly undertook to open a more expeditious route over the Alleghenies from the forks of the Susquehanna, to which settlement in Pennsylvania had climbed. Then he rushed at the conquest of the wilderness as if he would leap over the years of rough pioneering; and he could do it because he had energy and imagination to match Pultney's money. Of his town and county building, the most ambitious project was his county seat of Bath, which he hoped to make worthy of its English namesake. Confident that it would soon be the populous centre of a thriving commerce, he provided it with a school, a library, a court house, a newspaper, and a theatre. Another striking example of his enterprise was at Geneva, forty miles to the northeast. There he erected a three-story hotel, fifty feet by fifty, the largest and best in the West. He supplied it with running water through wooden pipes from a distant spring, and he gave the establishment "tone" by importing an experienced manager from London. Williamson's fairs and horse races, for which substantial purses were offered, were widely advertised, and they attracted people from afar. Aristocrats from Maryland and Virginia, gentlemen after his own heart, travelled with their retinues up his new road through Pennsylvania to settle on broad Genesee estates. One of these Southerners was Colonel Nathaniel Rochester, after whom the present city is named. But most of the newcomers were humble folk with no capital, and the splendid agent was no less gracious to them. He lent them labour to help dig their wells, roof their cabins, or clear their lands; and when, as was usual, these poor people found themselves unable to make the payments due on their lots, he was just as considerate.

By 1800, when the tract had been organized as two counties and contained a population of nearly seventeen thousand, Williamson's day was done. His American friends and associates whose influence had been of great service to him, Federalist politicians and wild land speculators, were now out of power or in jail, and Sir William Pultney had ordered a reversal of the flow of his funds. The agent was responsible for large unpaid debts that threatened to ruin him and to wipe out his principal's investment. This double disaster was averted by Pultney's generosity to Williamson, whose work he appreciated; by Williamson's transfer of title to Pultney, made possible by a recent change of the state law; and by the appointment of another agent, a New York lawyer, who was as penny wise as his predecessor had been pound foolish.

From first to last this book reaches out beyond local Genesee history, for no account of Williamson's American career could ignore Anglo-American relations, American politics, or Canadian-American relations. Here we meet Berczy and his fellow Germans before they walked round Lake Ontario to improve their lot and their character by settling Markham township in Upper Canada. Here we run into Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, Lord Dorchester, and the baffling Indian problem that set British and Americans by the ears; but the author does not seem to have

understood them very well. Here we encounter Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and other American public men of the time; but no more than is necessary. Here also we get more than mere glimpses into politico-financial transactions that sought to build Anglo-American friendship by making it mutually profitable; but they leave the reviewer with the impression that the author has somewhat exaggerated their importance because she has not seen the whole of which they form a part. It must be admitted, however, that these glimpses are of real value to the student of Anglo-American relations.

Some readers who are familiar with Miss Cowan's excellent *British Emigration to British North America* (Toronto, 1927) may suspect that she has tried to "jazz up" her style to catch the popular taste. This writing seems a little too self-conscious for a work of such solid worth, based, as it is, upon years of exhaustive research in manuscript as well as printed material.

A. L. BURT

The University of Minnesota.

*The Crisis of 1830-1842 in Canadian-American Relations.* By ALBERT B. COREY. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 203. (\$3.25) THE one really bad thing about this useful book is its title. There was no "crisis of 1830-1842" in Canadian-American relations, nor does the book treat the whole of this period. There was a crisis of 1837-1846, one distinct phase of which ended in 1842; and Mr. Corey's volume, though not wholly exhaustive, is the best study we have had of the five troubled years from Papineau's rebellion to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

At a time when Canada and the United States have newly become associates in a war in defence of their common interests, standards, and beliefs, this chronicle of old, unhappy, far-off things reads with special strangeness. Just over a century ago Canada was an armed camp, as she is today; but the preparations then being made were not undertaken in partnership with the republic against a common foe. They were designed, on the contrary, for the protection of Canadian soil against attack from the United States—against actual armed filibustering expeditions organized by private citizens, and against the definite apprehension of public war. It is unlikely, however, that anyone will argue that today's happier relationship renders the study of this ancient crisis improper. There is no better foundation for international understanding than the honest study of history; and if each of the two countries, profiting by such scholarly and impartial works as this, would strive to improve its knowledge of the history of the neighbour country and of its own relations with it, there would be good reason for anticipating the perpetuation and perhaps even the further betterment of the present close association.

Mr. Corey has ranged widely on both sides of the border in preparing this study. Its chief foundation is manuscript collections in Ottawa and Washington, but he has also drawn upon a large variety of official printed sources, newspapers, and monographs. (He has not done much in English sources, and one misses in his bibliography the British Hansard and the Parliamentary Papers, both of which contain much material germane to his subject.) His book will make future students his debtors. It is a valuable addition to the literature of the Webster-Ashburton

Treaty, particularly with respect to the matter of extradition and the strategic aspects of the boundary dispute. (In this latter connection he might have mentioned that Ashburton's strategic judgment was in fact sounder than that of the "Military Critics" mentioned on page 166 who insisted upon getting additional territory upon the highlands immediately south of the St. Lawrence rather than concentrating upon gaining ground below the St. John to cover the military route through the Madawaska Settlement. The terrain of northern Maine, roadless even today, gave ample protection to the road along the St. Lawrence, wherever the boundary might run; but within a few years the advance of settlement had exposed the road along the New Brunswick side of the St. John above Grand Falls to easy interruption in case of war.) The average reader of the book would have better means of estimating Ashburton's diplomacy were he given a more complete sketch of and commentary upon the earlier history of the boundary question.

Occasionally the author seems to miss an opportunity, as when he treats the Aroostook crisis perfunctorily (pp. 114-15), or takes no pains to reconstruct the Prescott raid, the most dramatic episode of the period (pp. 79-80). There are occasional misprints: "ordinance" for "ordnance" (p. 155); the reviewer believes that the name of the steamer involved in the Prescott affair was not *Paul Fry* but *Paul Pry* (pp. 80, 200); and it appears that a typographical slip has attributed some words of the author to Lord Ashburton (p. 166). It is not clear why Mr. Corey insists on omitting the hyphens in "Rush-Bagot" and "Webster-Ashburton." Such points, however, are small in comparison with the solid achievement of investigation.

C. P. STACEY

London, England.

*Readings in Pacific Northwest History: Washington, 1790-1895.* Edited by CHARLES MARVIN GATES. Seattle: The University Bookstore, 4326 University Way. 1941. Pp. 345. (\$2.50)

THE editor of this volume, believing that in contemporary records are to be found "the materials in which history can be read," has undertaken the task of representing over a century of the history of the state of Washington. In the main, the result has been quite satisfactory; particularly if the reader bears in mind the counsel that the documents were deliberately selected to illuminate and not to explain the events to which they refer.

Many source books in the past have tended, all too frequently, to overemphasize constitutional issues. In this respect this volume is a notable exception for all the phases of the evolution of Washington from an Indian hunting ground to statehood are adequately represented. The explorers, the fur traders, and the missionaries tell of their own experiences in pioneering. Considerable attention is also given to the original Indian inhabitants and to the problems arising from the coming of the white man. The constitutional issues involved first in the establishment of territorial government and still later of statehood, are clearly set out, and examples given of early legislation on economic and social problems. The early industrial life of the area—lumbering, mining, fishing, and agriculture, the coming of the railroads and the gradual development of manufacturing and commerce are all in turn illustrated.

To cover the period 1790-1895 in so limited an amount of print necessarily involved a good deal of arbitrary selection, but the wide range of the source material tapped is ample evidence of the desire of the editor to provide a well balanced

series of readings. Letters, diaries, government reports and contemporary books, periodicals and newspapers have all been utilized. Care has been taken to reproduce literally the text from the place in which it first appeared in print along with such notes as the original editor may have appended. Unfortunately the result has been, in some cases, a perpetuation of former errors, which might have been avoided had greater efforts been made to check with original sources. For example, the *Journal* of John Work might have been compared with the original in the Archives of British Columbia, and errors in the text as edited by T. C. Elliot corrected. While much is in the nature of reprinted material, nevertheless some interesting new documentary material is made available, for example: W. B. Gosnell's report to Governor I. I. Stevens on Indian grievances in 1856; Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield's report on Fort Townsend, 1858; Peter Skene Ogden's "Hints to Travellers"; and extracts from the diaries of G. O. Haller. The readings, moreover, have been selected to present a great variety of points of view. Criticism as well as praise is brought forward.

Each of the readings is prepared with an excellent brief note placing the selection in its proper historical context and in many cases sources of further information are suggested. The omission of an index is regrettable though understandable. The general format and typography are unusually good for a book of this sort. While originally the book was prepared for use in the University of Washington it nevertheless should have a much wider appeal, for it offers a fascinating yet authentic introduction to the history of a portion of the Pacific Northwest.

WILLARD E. IRELAND

The Provincial Archives,  
Victoria, B.C.

*North Pacific Fisheries: With Special Reference to Alaska Salmon.* By HOMER E. GREGORY and KATHLEEN BARNES. (Studies of the Pacific, no. 3.) New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. 1939. Pp. xviii, 302. (\$3.00)  
*The British Columbia Fisheries.* By W. A. CARROTHERS. With a foreword by H. A. INNIS. (University of Toronto Political Economy Series, no. 10.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 137. (\$2.00)  
THESE two books present the first full-length studies of the North Pacific Fisheries. That by Mr. Gregory and Miss Barnes is the more ambitious in scope, providing a detailed survey of the fisheries of this area and a thorough analysis of their major problems. Mr. Carrothers's study possesses fewer pretensions to analysis and interpretation, but succeeds in packing an astonishing amount of material into a slender volume. Together these books represent a long step forward in research in the economy of the Pacific Northwest.

Conservation of the fisheries is regarded as a primary issue in both volumes. The presence of competing national interests and their use of improved techniques of exploitation make this the most complex and controversial of fisheries problems. The course of Canadian-American negotiations in the conservation of the salmon and halibut fisheries is traced in detail by Mr. Carrothers and the relevant chapters stand out as the best in his book. The American study is more concerned with Japanese intentions, and gives an excellent account of the difficulties arising from Japanese encroachments in Alaskan waters. The problem of adequate protection of coastal fisheries still awaits solution although the war may provide answers not

forthcoming in peacetime. Aside from international regulations, both studies describe governmental conservation policies and procedures within the regions under survey.

In a number of chapters on industrial organization, Mr. Gregory and Miss Barnes turn to the question of monopolistic tendencies in the fishing industry. Such factors as the tendency to integration between the stages of processing and marketing, and lessened possibilities of expansion in the industry as a whole, promise a higher degree of centralization in the future. Other aspects of the fisheries which receive their attention include a description of biological factors, fishing techniques, and processing methods; an account of methods of marketing, advertising and distribution, and of regulations for the protection of consumers; an analysis of prices, profits, and costs in the industry; a study of the position of labour, and a short chapter on foreign trade in canned salmon. There is a brief treatment of the problems of the halibut industry, and an excellent discussion of the place of the fisheries in the Alaskan economy. While the volume is highly informative throughout, its great virtue lies in the objectivity of its analysis.

*The British Columbia Fisheries* is a straightforward factual account of developments in this region. In addition to the material on conservation (Fraser river sockeye salmon, and halibut) and fishery regulations, there is a competent chapter on the contentious subject of treaties and tariffs as they affect the British Columbia fisheries. There are statistical chapters on capital and the expansion of the salmon fisheries before and after 1900. The historical material is supplemented in the foreword, which notes significant contrasts with the Atlantic fisheries, and some interrelations of fisheries and fur trade. There is a concise treatment of the halibut, herring, pilchard, and other fisheries, and a concluding chapter on whaling and sealing. The volume may have been intended as a supplement to the *North Pacific Fisheries*, but it is in itself a useful and important contribution in a long-neglected field of study.

W. T. EASTERBROOK

Berkeley, California.

*The Atlantic System: The Story of Anglo-American Control of the Seas.* By FORREST DAVIS. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1941. Pp. xvi, 363. (\$3.75)

Mr. Forrest Davis is a journalist in a hurry. His book attempts to depict the history of Anglo-American relations from the nineties of the last century to the present. But the "story of Anglo-American control of the seas" can be covered only in part by the title "The Atlantic System." Events in the Caribbean and North Sea may take shelter under this umbrella. But from the turn of the century the future of China and Australasia were factors in the rise of Anglo-American friendship; from the Spanish War and the establishment by the United States of an eastern empire to the Washington Conference and Pearl Harbour, the Pacific area and East Asia loomed large. There has, it is true, been the more persistent threat of Germany. But if she dominates Europe she can command Suez; alone or through her satellites she might menace the New World from the Orient as well as the Occident. In the survival of Western society the link between the distribution of Europe's land-power and the fate of English-speaking sea-power knocks the bottom out of Mr. Davis's formula. It comes from Henry Adams. But Adams wrote also of an "American system"—which, curiously enough, would be less

one-sided than the phrase Mr. Davis adopts and broader than the limits to which in the main he restricts himself.

Smoothly contrived, this treatise is not adequate as a popular guide to the political relations of the English-speaking peoples. It has too many gaps. No real consideration is given to Britain's case during the isthmian canal controversy or to Canada's over the Alaskan boundary. And by slurring over the Alaskan settlement the author manages to portray Arthur Balfour as one whose contribution to Anglo-American friendship was always indecisive. Surprisingly, on the other hand, Senator Lodge, in this Republican narrative, develops unsuspected virtues. Yet over these Canadian and Central American problems, as in the later Wilsonian period, few did more to bedevil the cause Mr. Davis has at heart. About that the author is silent. On the coercion of Venezuela by Britain and Germany, he is in error so far as Anglo-American relations were concerned. His account of Theodore Roosevelt's part in the world crisis of 1905-6 ignores a good deal of the information now fully available. And these are all major topics.

What Mr. Davis has himself observed (his two chapters on the war and aftermath of 1914-18) is well done. His view of Wilson is provocative. But the liberal interventionist yields to the pre-Willkie Republican in his attitude toward war debts and reparations. As for post-war France, Russia, and the liberated countries of Europe, they do not seriously figure in his exclusively maritime calculations. Nor does air power, either by itself or as an aspect of land power.

As a substitute for references Mr. Davis offers a long, padded bibliography. What he wants known as his chief debts are acknowledged in a special note. But does it suffice? Nowhere does he include the great, labyrinthine collection of *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914* as edited by Messrs. Gooch and Temperley. Yet he moves through its mazes with immense aplomb and with an economy of effort which the professional student might envy. As a matter of fact, the heading of his fourth chapter ("England Quits the American Seas") is adapted—though he does not say so—from these documents; and indeed much in the hard core of his book—while incomplete, haphazard, and confused—seems to be based on them. It is all rather bewildering. At any rate, no hint is furnished that the precise relevance of this and other of his key material was exhibited, with sources indicated and the same general interpretation worked out, before Mr. Davis ever appeared on the Anglo-American scene. He is introduced and has been widely acclaimed as a pioneer. But if this is pioneering, it is pioneering the easy way.

LIONEL M. GELBER

The University of Toronto.

*Some Historians of Modern Europe: Essays in Historiography by Former Students of the Department of History of the University of Chicago.* Edited by BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. x, 533. (\$5.00)

THE writing of historiography can be done with one of two different purposes in view. The more limited, but none the less useful, purpose is to write a history of historians, a summing up, in the light of our later and, presumably, fuller knowledge, of both the importance and the limitations of the contributions which have been made to that knowledge by our several predecessors. This was historiography as exemplified in Dr. Gooch's "History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century" (1913), a work to which the present volume is in some sort a successor.

A wider and more difficult task would be to write a history of history; that is, a history of those views of its own past—whether true views or false, whether of an extensive past or a limited—which have been held by mankind in each successive generation, and an account of the relation of these views to the preoccupations and activities of the generation in question. Historiography, so written, would obviously become a part of intellectual history, and the work of past historians would become only one part of its field of study.

The present work belongs to historiography as defined in our first sense. It is a collection of essays, written by former students of the Department of History in the University of Chicago, and dealing with twenty-two historians—seven French, five English, four German, three Russian, two Italian, and one Spanish—all of them men whose chief work has been done within the last two generations. It is, therefore, a book about historians, by historians, and for historians; and one puts it down, after reading, with a pleasant sense of having been, for the evening, among the initiate in the Common Room; of having been, if not appointed a Fellow, at least invited to dine. For the tone of the book is intimate and friendly; it is charitable;<sup>1</sup> and, in each essay, we are given, not only some estimate of the subject of the essay as historian, but also some attempt to portray his character and the circumstances of his background and career. In this, the book represents a real advance upon Gooch, and in this, at this point of time, lies much of its value. For the twenty-two essayists, taken as a whole, would hardly pretend to give us final and analytic—as distinct from descriptive—judgments upon the leaders of the generation which has just passed; but these detached and yet kindly sketches will at least leave the young historian with the sense of being one of “a lovely company.” To the American student, for example, who did not know Firth, or the English student who did not know Halévy, this book will have done a great deal to give life to what, previously, were professional names.

No two of us would agree, probably, as to who should be included in such a collection and who left out; and it is no criticism, therefore, to say that not all of us would have taken Lodge and omitted Powicke and Pollard, Oman and H. W. C. Davis; have taken Temperley and omitted Gooch and Webster; or have taken Holland Rose and omitted Grant Robertson and Fisher, toward the last of whom, indeed, Dr. Wilson Lyon (p. 388) casts a possibly regretful glance: or that, with the friends of the Third Republic already represented by Aulard and Mathiez, some of us would not willingly have forgone Hanotaux, or even Lavisson and Seignobos, for a sympathetic study of Augustin Cochin. But Dr. Schmitt has disarmed such complaints by assuring us that while “historians of six countries are included . . . no clear principle of selection can be indicated,” and that “in the case of several historians who would be naturally included in such a volume, I could unfortunately find no one willing to write on them.”

There are three omissions, however, which are rather more notable. For although Dr. Schmitt makes it clear that he “carefully refrained from trying to impose a formula” upon his team, the great majority of these essays do conform to a common and intelligent plan. They give us, first, a brief account of the subject’s life; second, an account of his work; and third, some estimate of his views of the nature and purpose of the study and writing of history. Now, in virtually each case, this last estimate reduces itself to the putting of the query: How far

<sup>1</sup>Miss Acomb, for example, in her essay on Mathiez, says nothing of his personal quarrel with Aulard in 1913-14, and deals only with the “scientific reasons” for the breach between the two men; an exercise in good taste for which we can be grateful.

was the historian in question devoted to the writing of the (so-called) old-fashioned, and purely "political" history, and how far was he alive to the significance which has more recently been attached to "social and economic" factors? It is for this reason (and especially after reading Miss Faissler's judgment on page 514, that Temperley's "interest in diplomatic history made him but one—although a distinguished one—of a large group of able students. Diplomatic history would have been studied during his lifetime, and in much the same way, whether he had written and edited or not"; or Professor Davis's judicious defence on page 267 of Sir Richard Lodge's "political" history against the strictures of James Harvey Robinson) that one wonders at the absence of all three of Trevelyan, Namier, and Feiling.

For these three together have surely proved (if, after Macaulay, to name no other, proof were necessary) that the writing of "political," and that of "social," history are not mutually exclusive. Mr. Brinton once commented upon the apparent tendency of social historians not only to use, but actually to prefer, minor actors as witnesses and unimportant events as evidence, and the charge was true. But no one could accuse Trevelyan or Feiling of a neglect of national politics or of national heroes, and yet they have contrived to give us practically everything of what most of us can feel to be of any genuine use in the fashion for "social" history. Feiling is the historian of the Tory party yet no one has done more to draw attention to the persistence of local "interest" in the shires as a more important force in seventeenth and eighteenth century England than the conflict of "party" at Westminster, and his work on the social background of the Cavaliers is surely social history at its best. In the same way, the Trevelyan who traced the campaigns of Marlborough with a fidelity which the strongest exponent of the "great man theory" might envy, could also give us the comprehensive picture of social England of the early chapters of his *Blenheim*.

There is a second reason to regret the omission of these three. The grand upshot of the last twenty years' research in modern English history has been what one may call the scaling down of the peaks in the period from 1660 to 1760; the realization that both the "absolutism" of the later Stuarts, on the one hand, and the completion of the break with "absolutism" in 1688, on the other, had been exaggerated; and the insistence that what was most persistent in the England of that period was the effortless political sense of a proud and interlocking ruling class, a class which had the virtue of not suffering fools gladly and which offered poor material either for despotism or for democracy. The new information which, since Hallam and Macaulay, has made these discoveries possible, has come, not from the Record Office, but from the family chests, from the muniment rooms of Trumbulls and Finches and Saviles and Harleys, and it has involved, therefore, work in fields in which political history is social, and social history, political. And it is no denigration of the work which has been done by the Englishmen who appear in Dr. Schmitt's collection to say that, with the possible exception of Ashley, none of them has opened up such a field as have the trio whom we have named.

Two other names complete our list of grievances. Gooch's standard work had already dealt with the importance of Maitland's revelation of the fields which could be opened up by the study of English history in terms of English law; and it might have seemed natural, after the lapse of another thirty years, to have dealt with the other great post-Stubbsian contribution; the discovery by Tout of the importance for our history and constitution of the study of the administrative

departments of the Household. Finally,—*A Study of History* notwithstanding—we miss the name of Toynbee.

However, these, after all, are sins only of omission, and for what we have been given there must be genuine gratitude. Although six of their twenty-two subjects are still alive, these essays will inevitably recall those tributes with which, in our journals, we are accustomed to lament, and salute, the passing of the eminent among the practitioners of our craft, and, so judged, they are altogether admirable. The writing, if undistinguished, and savouring occasionally of the graduate seminar, is usually unpretentious and direct, and marred only in rare instances by such samples of jargon as (p. 7) "the Spanish people were geared to a psychology of failure after the 1898 debacle." And if one confesses to a preference for the essays on Ashley, Croce, and Halévy, that is, in part at least, because of the perhaps superior interest of the work of their respective subjects. Will Dr. Schmitt give us another volume on another twenty-two?

H. N. FIELDHOUSE

The University of Manitoba.

*War as a Social Institution: The Historian's Perspective.* Edited for the American Historical Association by JESSE D. CLARKSON and THOMAS C. COCHRAN. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 333. (\$3.50)

THE title of this volume is somewhat misleading. It suggests an attempt to treat of war generally, setting forth its distinctive features as revealed in a number of specific cases. The qualification of the sub-title in no way releases the contributors from this obligation. Sociologists—and social psychologists—have all sorts of ideas about war as a social institution or as a form of social conflict, but their generalizations often rest upon a precarious historical foundation. It is the historians who are most familiar with wars of the past, and it is from their investigations (and those of the anthropologists) that one must look for most of the facts upon which a general conception of war as a social institution is to be based. It is, therefore, disappointing that very few of the papers presented in this volume refer to any war other than that of 1914-18 and of the present day. The economic historians, anthropologists, and geographers who have contributed treat of war in a general way but these papers cannot be claimed to present "the historian's perspective." Too many of the purely historical papers have to do with such subjects as the Treaty of Versailles and opinion in France, Italy, and Germany, the neutral nation and the war of 1914-18, or the isolationist policy of the United States in the present war (before Pearl Harbour). The few which dip into the past—"The Age of the Renaissance" by E. Harris Harbison, and "The Age of Metternich" by Sherman Kent—deal with the role of the historian in what is called "times of trouble" rather than with the problem of war.

Read simply as a collection of papers, however, the volume is not without interest, and some of the contributions would deserve more than passing notice if the limits of this review permitted. In the paper "National Wealth and Protection Costs," Frederic C. Lane discusses the problem of "nationally protected" enterprises in a policy of imperial expansion, while in the paper "Do Colonies Pay?" M. M. Knight brings out in striking manner the importance of debt relationships in securing the trade between imperial countries and their colonial possessions. Without attempting to appraise the merits of the other papers in the volume, this reviewer found of particular interest "Armies and the Railway Revolution" by

Thomas H. Thomas, "Civilian and Military Elements in Modern War" by H. A. De Weerd, "The First World War and American Democracy" by George E. Mowry, and the two papers on Japan by William W. Lockwood and Hugh Borton respectively. The editors and publishers are to be congratulated on an extremely attractive volume in arrangement, printing, and format.

S. D. CLARK

The University of Toronto.

*Lore of the Lakes: Told in Story and Picture.* By DANA THOMAS BOWEN. Daytona Beach: The author, 625 Lennox Avenue. 1940. Pp. xvi, 314. (\$3.50) THE title of this book very nicely describes it. By means of anecdotes, bits of history, statistics, chronological tables, and numerous photographs, the author sketches a picture of the Great Lakes which is filled with human interest. He has obviously made no attempt to write anything like a complete history of North America's inland seas. He has merely elected to tell the story of certain colourful and important incidents in lake history. Naturally he gives a great deal of attention to the famous ships of the lakes and the freshwater mariners who sailed them.

The Great Lakes, as we all know, have a lore which is singularly rich in romance. Beginning in the seventeenth century in a practically legendary atmosphere of explorers, Indians, fur traders, and missionaries, the story comes down through years of momentous changes, especially during the last century. From a highway for the fur trade the lakes became a great avenue into the heart of North America for Canadian and American pioneers. The forests disappeared from the lake shores, and farms took their place. Villages sprang up as if by magic, and some of them soon grew into great cities. Canoes gave way to sailing vessels, which in turn were supplanted by steamships. Harbours were made, channels were dredged, and canals which are among the world's economic wonders were built. Marvellous mechanical appliances were installed up and down the lakes for the loading and unloading of grain, iron ore, and coal. All these belong to the lore of the lakes, and Mr. Bowen touches on them at more or less length as well as on thundering naval engagements, fierce storms, and tragic wrecks.

The author appears to love his subject and writes about it with a zest which makes for enjoyable reading. Persons who are already familiar with lake history will probably be less interested in the narrative than in the pictures. In fact the pictures, which are both plentiful and good, are much the best feature of the book.

SAMUEL MCKEE, JR.

Columbia University.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; C.H.R.—*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*; C.J.E.P.S.—*Canadian journal of economics and political science*.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

*Commonwealth control* (Round table, no. 126, March, 1942, 215-21). A discussion of the question, How are the Dominions to be associated more closely with the actual framing of British policy and strategy?

COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *Britain's harassed empire* (Current history, II(7), March, 1942, 33-8). A survey of action and reaction in the various parts of the Commonwealth.

EWART, T. S. (comp.). *British Commonwealth of Nations: Opinions regarding its composition, objects, etc.* Ottawa: The author, 6 Lakeview Terrace. 1942. Pp. 46. A collection of quotations showing that diverse opinions are held as to the definition, status, and objects of membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

HANCOCK, W. B. *Survey of British Commonwealth affairs*. Vol. II, Part II. *Problems of economic policy, 1918-1939*. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 355. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

HUNT, ERLING M. *More attention to Canada and the British Empire?* (Social education, VI(4), April, 1942, 160-3). Suggests that a change of emphasis is needed in the teaching of history in the United States, and that more attention should be paid to the history of the British Empire in its interrelationships with that of the United States.

*Imperial war cabinet* (New statesman and nation, Feb. 14, 1942, 105-6). Argues that the Dominions should have a larger share in the making of policy as well as in consultation.

MARRIOTT, J. A. R. *An Empire cabinet* (Nineteenth century, no. DCCLXXXI, March, 1942, 123-8). The author argues that a real Imperial executive can work only if it is responsible to an Imperial Legislature competent to impose taxation for Imperial defence.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Canada-United States Committee maintained by Canadian Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. *Common interests and agencies of Canada and the United States*. Washington: U.S. Chamber of Commerce. 1941. Pp. 24.

CARTER, GWENDOLEN M. *Consider the record: Canada and the League of Nations*. (Behind the headlines series, II(6).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1942. Pp. 24. (10c.)

HUMPHREY, JOHN P. *The inter-American system: A Canadian view*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1942. Pp. xiv, 329. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

MACCORMAC, JOHN. *America and world mastery: The future of the United States, Canada, and the British Empire*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce [Toronto: Collins]. 1942. Pp. x, 338. (\$3.50) See p. 194.

MCLEAN, J. S. *Canadian-American trade relations* (Boston Chamber of Commerce, retail trade bd., 13th Boston conference on distribution, 1941, 28-31).

SANDWELL, B. K. *Canada and the U.S.A.* (Public affairs, V(3), spring, 1942, 113-18). Urges that all lingering traces of suspicion or isolationism toward the United States be cleared from Canadian minds and that we should take up our responsibilities as a North American nation. A shortened version of an address given under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs in Halifax on March 13, 1942.

SCOTT, F. R. *Canada and hemispheric solidarity* (in *Inter-American Solidarity* [lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1941], ed. by Walter H. C. Laxeo, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 139-73).

— *Canada's role in world affairs* (Food for thought series, II(5), Jan., 1942, Toronto, Canadian Association for Adult Education, 8-15).

TROTTER, R. G. and MACKAY, R. A. *Pan Americanism is not enough—two opinions* (Public affairs, V(3), spring, 1942, 118-23). The reasons for and against Canada's membership in the Pan American Union are examined.

### III. CANADA AND THE WAR

ALBERT, HAROLD A. *Diamonds for victory* (National home monthly, XLIII(1), Jan., 1942, 12-13, 26-8). One of Canada's newest war industries is the diamond-cutting industry brought with the craftsmen who fled from Holland.

ANDREW, G. C. *Canada at war*. (A report of a round table held by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs at its eighth annual conference, Kingston, Ontario, May, 1941.) Toronto: The Institute. 1941. Pp. 11.

ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH H. *French Canadian opinion on the war*. (Contemporary affairs series, no. 12.) Toronto, Halifax: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 44. (40c.)

BATESON, NORA. *A library for our fighting forces* (Public affairs, V(3), spring, 1942, 131-3). The Nova Scotia Regional Libraries Commission, in co-operation with the Canadian Legion War Services has made some interesting observations on its successful work of providing libraries for the Atlantic area.

BECKLES, GORDON. *Canada comes to England*. London: Hodder and Stoughton [Toronto: Musson Book Company]. 1941. Pp. 166. (\$1.50) A journalistic account of the service of Canada's armed forces in European land, skies, and waters, with extracts from the speeches of the Prime Minister, and a chapter on Canada's financial and industrial effort.

CAMPBELL, A. G. *Guns—and Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV(5), May, 1942, 208-39). An amply illustrated article on Canada's rapidly increasing armament production.

*Canada. I. Faces old and new. II. The conscription issue* (Round table, no. 126, March, 1942, 298-304). A survey of the parliamentary and political situation early in 1942.

Canada, Dept. of National Defence. *Report for fiscal year ending March 31, 1941*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 39. Tables. (25c.)

Canada, Dept. of National War Services, Director of Public Information. *Canada at war* series. No. 12. March, 1942, supplement to no. 9. No. 13. April, 1942, revised to April 1, incorporating material contained in the three supplements to no. 9.

— *My neighbours of Canada* by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Ottawa: The Director. 1942. Pp. 4. An address over the C.B.C. national network on the occasion of the inauguration of the Second Victory Loan.

— *Selected list of wartime pamphlets*. No. 1, issued Oct., 1941. No. 2, issued March, 1942. Ottawa: The Director. Pp. 48; 28.

Canada, Dept. of National War Services, Director of Public Information. *Veterans of the present war (speech before Montreal Rotary Club, Nov. 4, 1941)* by H. F. McDONALD. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 19.

Naval Information Section. *Canada's battle of the Atlantic*. Ottawa: The Director. March, 1942. Pp. 48. A brochure of illustrations showing the Navy in action.

*Canada—an allied arsenal* (Guaranty survey, Feb. 24, 1942, 1-4).

*Canadian wartime economic policies* (National City Bank of New York, Economic bulletin, Feb., 1942, 20-3).

CARTINHOUR, GAINES T. *War economy in Canada* (Bankers' magazine, CXLIV (4), April, 1942, 305-9). A study of various measures having to do with finance, price control, foreign exchange, labour.

CLARKE, DESMOND A. *Canada builds a navy* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV(4), April, 1942, 160-87). An exposition by the Director General of the Shipbuilding Branch, Department of Munitions and Supply, on the Naval Construction and Small Boats divisions of Canada's ship-building programme. An article in the same issue by Charles Clay describes the Cargo Boat and the Ship-Repairs divisions of the programme.

CLAY, CHARLES. *Canada gets scrappy—with scrap!* (National home monthly, XLIII(3), March, 1942, 14, 18-19). Outlines the objectives and the organization of Canada's National Salvage Campaign.

*So you want a war job!* Foreword by J. T. THORSON. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 110. (75c.)

COCHRANE, H. G. *Plan today for reconstruction tomorrow* (Canadian business, XV(4), April, 1942, 40-1, 93-4). Makes some suggestions on public planning for the reconstruction period.

ILSLEY, J. L. *Speaking of money and war: Extracts from a series of addresses by the Minister of Finance, Sept. 3-18, 1941*. Ottawa: Director of Public Information. Oct., 1941. Pp. 16.

KING, The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE. *Canada at Britain's side*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1941. Pp. xii, 332. (\$2.50)

*The defence of Canada*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 4. A speech delivered in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister March 25, 1942.

*National security—the issue in the plebiscite*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 11. An address broadcast over the C.B.C. network April 7, 1942.

*National selective service*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 8. A speech given in the House of Commons on March 24, 1942.

KNIGHT, ERIC. *They don't want swamps and jungles*. Ottawa: Director of Public Information. 1942. Pp. 11. A striking radio speech on the necessity of a greater war effort.

LITTLE, E. M. *Post-war reconstruction plans* (Industrial Canada, XLII(11), March, 1942, 78-9).

McCONNELL, F. H. *How Canada sells its war loans: Direct sales campaign carried to citizens living in every highway and byway of the Dominion* (Barron's, Feb. 16, 1942, 18).

MACKENZIE, C. J. *War activities of the National Research Council of Canada* (Engineering jour., XXV(3), March, 1942, 141-4). An address delivered at the annual General Meeting of the Engineering Institute of Canada at Montreal on February 5, 1942 by the retiring President.

MADDOX, W. P. *Canadian-American defense planning* (Foreign policy reports, Nov. 15, 1941, 210-20). Surveys the administrative contacts and institutional arrangements between Canada and the United States at the time of writing, with some speculation as to their survival when the war is over.

MARSH, L. C. *Post-war reconstruction in Canada* (Engineering and contract record, LV(9), March 4, 1942, 8-9, 20-1). An extensive and properly selected fund of work projects is an essential among reconstruction measures.

*Proclamations and Orders in Council relating to the war.* Vol. V. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 420.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Canada's war in the air*. Montreal: Alvah M. Beatty, 1111 Beaver Hall Hill. 1942. Pp. 160, [lxxx]. Mr. Roberts has prepared an elaborate record of the growth of Canada's air strength, particularly since the outbreak of the war. Although the publication is not an official one, the government has given the author its full co-operation, and the result is a complete and authoritative account of the expansion of the R.C.A.F. To the text is added a large and informative selection of illustrations. [R. G. RIDDELL.]

SHAW, CHARLES L. *Canada builds a bridge of ships* (Canadian business, XV(2), Feb., 1942, 58-64, 114, 116, 118). Canada's new merchant marine is being built in sixty-seven Canadian shipyards, nearly one hundred per cent Canadian-produced.

SHORT, C. M. *The battle of smokestacks* (Canadian finance, XXXIII(20), Oct., 1941, 18, 36). Canada must and can do more to increase her armament production.

SOMERVILLE, W. L. *Planned homes for our munitions workers* (Canadian homes and gardens, Jan.-Feb., 1942, 11-13, 42). Since March, 1941, Wartime Housing Limited, a government-owned and controlled company under the Department of Munitions and Supply, has been building and renting houses for workers engaged in war industries.

*Special navy number: The story of Canada's fighting ships and men* (Maclean's magazine, LII(6), March 15, 1942). Contains the following articles: "Fighting Ships" by Charles Rawlings, "Chief of Staff (Vice-Admiral P. W. Nelles)" by Grant Dexter, "This is the Navy" by Kenneth R. Wilson, "Navy Base" by Thomas H. Raddall, "It's the Navy Way" by Lieut. E. H. Bartlett, and a twelve-page pictorial section.

United States, Dept. of Labor, Wage and Hour Division, Research and Statistics Branch. *Wartime regulation of wages and hours in Canada*. Washington: The Dept. Dec., 1941. Pp. iv, 63.

*Victory models: Canada gets ready to concentrate and standardize its consumer industry (as England did) to free labor, plants* (Business week, Feb. 21, 1942, 46).

*War finance in three countries* [Great Britain, Canada, United States] (National City Bank of New York, Economic bulletin, March, 1942, 32-5).

WATT, C. D. *The problem of co-ordination* (Canadian forum, XXII(257), June, 1942, 76-9). "Responsibility for Canada's tardy recognition of the meaning of total mobilization of industry and manpower lies specifically with the Departments of Munition and Supply and National War Services, and, broadly, with the Cabinet. The hopeful feature, at the moment, is the broad view of its responsibilities being taken by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. . . ."

WHITTAKER, G. C. *Ottawa has post-war needs in mind* (Saturday night, LVII(23), Feb. 14, 1942, 14). A few remarks on whether various controls will be maintained after the war.

WOODS, WALTER S. *Planning for postwar period* (Industrial Canada, XLII(12), April, 1942, 82-3, 85). An address delivered by the Associate Deputy Minister of Pensions and National Health to the Kiwanis Club of Toronto on February 25, 1942.

## IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

## (1) General History

ANTHONY, HAROLD E. *A grand tour of North America* (Natural history, XLIX(4), April, 1942, 189-205). The new Hall of North American mammals in New York presents a survey of the wildlife of North America from Mexico to the Arctic.

BURT, ALFRED LEROY. *A short history of Canada for Americans*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press [Toronto: Educational Book Company]. 1942. Pp. xvi, 279. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

*Physicians in Canadian history. I. Sir James Hector, 1834-1906* by H. S. PATTERSON. II. *Sir Charles Tupper, 1821-1915* by G. D. STANLEY. III. *Sir John Richardson, 1787-1865* by GEORGE R. JOHNSON (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bull., VI(3, 4), VII(1), Nov., 1941, Feb., May, 1942). A series portraying some outstanding Canadian physicians, most of whom took a deep interest in politics and public affairs.

## (2) Discovery and Exploration

CYPHER, IRENE F. *The story of our map* (Natural history, XLIX(2), Feb., 1942, 88-95). The epic of North America takes on new meaning when the maps the early navigators and pioneers were forced to rely on are examined.

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. *Admiral of the ocean sea: A life of Christopher Columbus*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. xx, 680. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

## (3) New France

CALDWELL, NORMAN W. *Charles Juchereau de St. Denys: A French pioneer in the Mississippi Valley* (Mississippi Valley historical review, XXVIII(4), March, 1942, 563-80). Though Juchereau's venture of 1702-3 to build up a trade in bison skins in the Mississippi country was unsuccessful, his idea of the strategic importance of having a fort at the mouth of the Ohio was made evident to later French traders.

FOLMER, HENRI. *Etienne Veniard de Bourgmond in the Missouri country* (Missouri historical review, XXXVI(3), April, 1942, 279-98). De Bourgmond played an important role in the French attempts to occupy the Missouri country in the period 1710-1725.

FOX, W. SHERWOOD. *St. Ignace—Canadian altar of martyrdom* (Catholic historical review, XXVIII(1), April, 1942, 43-56). A paper describing the investigation and research done to find the site of the Huron mission-fortress, St. Ignace II.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Le general Amherst parlait-il français?* (B. R. H., XLVIII(5), mai, 1942, 147-9). The author answers this question in the affirmative by the inclusion of a letter in French written by Amherst in 1760 and addressed to one of the sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal.

*Jacques de Noyon: nouveaux détails sur sa carrière* (B. R. H., XLVIII(4), avril, 1942, 121-5). The story of a coureur-de-bois (1668-1745) who voyaged into the Thunder Bay district on the north shore of Lake Superior.

STEVENS, SYLVESTER K., KENT, DONALD H. and WOODS, EMMA EDITH. *Travels in New France by J. C. B.* Prepared by Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Frontier Forts and Trails Survey, Division of Community Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1941. Pp. xiv, 167. To be reviewed later.

WALDO, LEWIS P. *The French drama in America in the eighteenth century and its influence on the American drama of that period, 1701-1800*. (Institut français de Washington.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xviii, 269. (\$3.50) Contains a chapter on the French drama in Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, pp. 19-49. To be reviewed later.

## (4) British North America before 1867

GIBB, HARLEY L. *Colonel Guy Johnson, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1774-82* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, XXVII, 1941, 595-613). Colonel Guy, though not dishonest, did little to check the graft and corruption that went on at the various posts of his Department, Detroit, Michilimackinac, Niagara, and so his career in Canada ended in a trial at Quebec under charges of misfeasance and malfeasance.

GUTTRIDGE, G. H. (ed.). *The American correspondence of a British merchant, 1766-1776: Letters of Richard Champion*. (University of California Publications in History, vol. XXII, no. 1.) Berkeley, Calif.: The University of California Press, 1934. Pp. viii, 72. (75c.) To be reviewed later.

*English Whiggism and the American Revolution*. (University of California Publications in History, vol. XXVIII.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1942. Pp. x, 153. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

LANCASTER, BRUCE. *Bright to the wanderer*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. x, 451. (\$3.00) A novel of the Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada.

NYE, MARY GREENE. *Loyalists and their property* (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, X(1), March, 1942, 36-42). Volume VI of the *State Papers of Vermont*, 1941, deals with the sequestration, confiscation, and sale of loyalist estates, and carries an introductory chapter by the editor, Mary Greene Nye, which is reprinted here.

## (5) The Dominion of Canada

BEATTIE, R. N. *The Hudson's Bay Company: Reorganization and Canadian federation* (Manitoba arts review, III(1), spring, 1942, 14-20).

BREWIN, F. A. *Civil liberties in Canada during war-time* (Bill of rights review, winter, 1941).

BURBANK, MARGUERITE J. *An American class discovers Canada* (Social education, VI(4), April, 1942, 164-5). Describes an experiment in the teaching of Canadian history to a class in the Richmond (Indiana) High School.

Canada, Dept. of Public Printing and Stationery, Division of Documents. *Supplement to catalogue of official publications of the Parliament and government of Canada* (covering period June, 1941 to March, 1942). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 7. (10c.)

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Trade and Commerce. *Canada 1942: Official handbook of present conditions and recent progress*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. xxxii, 168. (10c.) The 1942 handbook covers the general economic situation in Canada with the usual chapters on agriculture, forest resources, mines and minerals, etc. A review of "Canada's war effort and economic conditions at the close of 1941" precedes the chapter material, and there is a special article on "Canada's attractions for the vacationist."

Canada, Dominion of. *Official report of debates, House of Commons, 4-5-6 George VI, 1940-41-42*. Vol. IV, 1941-2, being vol. CCXXVIII for the period 1875-1942. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 3257-4482.

*Official report of debates, the Senate, 1940-42, second session nineteenth parliament, 4, 5, 6 George VI*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. xiv, 306.

Canadian Social Science Research Council. *First annual report, 1940-1941*. Ottawa The Council, 166 Marlborough Ave. 1942. Pp. 30. A brief account of the origins, constitution, and progress of the Council during 1940-1, in its work of furthering research in the social sciences in Canada.

Canadian Social Science Research Council. *Report on current research in the social sciences in Canada, Feb., 1941.* Toronto: The Council, T. F. McIlwraith, University of Toronto, chairman. 1941. Mimeo.

CARVER, HUMPHREY. *Canada at the Fair* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI(8), Aug., 1939, 184-93). "Let us discard mere politeness and frankly confess that for Canadians the World's Fair [at New York] is a scene of humiliation."

— *The National Housing Conference, 1939* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI(4), April, 1939, 71). The 1939 Conference, held in Toronto on February 20 and 21, was the second occasion on which such a conference was convened.

CASSIDY, HARRY M. *Public welfare reorganization in Canada, II* (Public Affairs, V(3), spring, 1942, 143-6). In this and his preceding article (*ibid.*, winter, 1941) the author points out that a great contribution towards the prevention of post-war social chaos can be made by thorough-going reorganization of the provincial and local welfare services from one end of the country to the other.

CLARK, W. C. *Low-rent housing legislation* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI(4), April, 1939, 72-3). An address before the National Housing Conference in Toronto, February, 1939, by the Deputy Minister of Finance, explaining the terms of the National Housing Act of 1938, Part II.

COLDWELL, M. J. *Go to the polls: Address on the issues of the plebiscite, April 21, 1942.* Ottawa: Director of Public Information. 1942. Pp. 8. The leader of the C.C.F. party urges a "Yes" vote.

DAVIS, FORREST. *The Atlantic system: The story of Anglo-American control of the seas.* New York: Reynal and Hitchcock [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1941. Pp. xvi, 363. (\$3.75) See p. 209.

DAWSON, R. MACG. (ed.). *Problems of modern government.* With a foreword by the Hon. and Rev. H. J. CODY. (University of Toronto Political Economy series no. 12.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 124. (\$2.00) A valuable collection of essays by a group of Canadian political scientists. Apart from their general interest, the essays possess a more special value for the readers of this journal, since most of them are discussions of Canadian political institutions and problems, placed in an historical setting, and thus relating closely to the field of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. "The Impact of the War on Canadian Political Institutions" by Professor Dawson, "The Federal Dilemma" by Professor Corry, "Canada and the Balance of World Power" by Professor MacKay, and "The Economic Activity of the State in the Dominions" will all be of interest to students of Canadian history. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

DICKIE, D. J., PALE, HELEN, and WOODLEY, E. C. *My country's story: An elementary Canadian history revised and adapted for use in Catholic schools.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1941. Pp. xii, 498. (95c.)

DONALDSON, LEWIS J. *Canada for all Canadians: A practical programme of prosperity for all the people.* Halifax: The author, 39 Westminster Apts. 1941. Pp. 119. (\$1.00 cloth; 60c. paper) The Rector Emeritus of Trinity Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia, makes a plea for an economic life based on Christian principles.

DOWD, N. S. *The background of Canadian labour* (Canadian unionist, XV(9), Feb., 1942, 204-6). Traces the growth of unionism in Canada.

Empire Club of Canada. *Addresses delivered to members during the year 1939-40.* Toronto: Hunter-Rose Company Ltd. 1940. Pp. xvi, 495. Includes the following addresses: "This democratic empire" by WILFRID BOVEY; "Canada's position in relation to the Empire's mineral situation" by CHARLES CAMSELL; "How can we build a nation?" by JEAN-CHARLES HARVEY; "Hydro and the St. Lawrence" by THOMAS H. HOGG; "Some war-time business and financial problems" by J. M.

MACDONNELL; "The Eastern Arctic patrol" by DAVID L. MCKEAND; "The challenge of democracy" by D. G. MCKENZIE; "Quebec" by J. A. MATHEWSON.

Empire Club of Canada. *Addresses delivered to members during the year 1940-1.* Toronto: T. H. Best Printing Co. 1941. Pp. xii, 531. Includes the following addresses: "The war and its implications for Canada" by Sir HOWARD D'EGVILLE; "Canada at the crossroads" by GEORGE A. DREW; "Canada's destiny" by G. HOWARD FERGUSON; "Quebec and Pan-Canadian unity" by JOSEPH ADELARD GODBOUT; "Canada at war" and "Munitions and more munitions" by C. D. HOWE; "Inflation and war finance" by F. CYRIL JAMES; "The significance of South America to Canada" by JOHN R. MOTT; "Canada in crisis—as seen by an Australian" by FREDERICK W. NORWOOD; "The present challenge to Canada" by NORMAN MCLEOD ROGERS.

FALUDI, E. G. *Housing in Canada and the shape of things to come* (Food for thought, II(8), April, 1942, 10-19). The post-war housing problem can be best solved by large-scale planning and the application of industrial mass production methods, to provide all citizens with better and cheaper houses.

GLENN, FERGUS. *Could it happen here?* (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 255), April, 1942, 12-15). Intelligent studying of the Canadian scene reveals signs of incipient fascism.

GRAY, ROSS W. *The "Conscription" plebiscite* (Labour review, V(13), Feb., 1942, 209-11). A speech in the House of Commons, January 27, 1942, expressing disapproval of the plebiscite.

GRIFFIN, FREDERICK. *An interview with W. L. Mackenzie King* (in *Dictators and Democrats*, ed. by Lawrence A. Farnsworth, New York, McBride, 1941).

GROSSMAN, VLADIMIR (ed.). *Canadian Jewish Year Book, 1941.* Vol. III of the series. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Publication Society, 454 Lagauchetière West. 1941. Pp. 352. (\$2.50)

HANSON, R. B. *Your duty: Address on the issues of the plebiscite, April 20, 1942.* Ottawa: Director of Public Information. 1942. Pp. 8. The leader of the Opposition urges a "Yes" vote in the plebiscite.

KEIRSTEAD, B. S. *The effects of the war on the concept of national interest* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VIII(2), May, 1942, 197-212). In the past the idea of the harmony of national interest neither gained public acceptance nor represented a true understanding of the balance of forces in the Canadian federal system; the war has brought about a temporary identity of interest which can be maintained in the post-war period only if the economically strong provinces do not pursue their interests at the expense of those sections economically less powerful.

KETCHUM, C. J. *A federal district capital* (Saturday night, LVII(32), April 18, 1942, 6). A Federal District capital for Canada, patterned on the United States District of Columbia, to extend over an area of 640 square miles, may take shape after the war.

MCCOWAN, DAN. *A naturalist in Canada.* Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1941. Pp. xii, 284. (\$3.00) A number of short essays based on broadcasts given over the radio, covering a variety of subjects of Canadian natural history, from Ontario bears and Canadian cows to glaciers and Trilobites.

MARQUIS, G.-E. *Précieux témoignage d'un Anglais* (Canada français, XXIX(9), mai, 1942, 753-68). Discusses Wilfrid Bovey and his book, *Canadien: A Study of the French Canadians*, a French translation of which appeared in 1940.

NOBBS, PERCY E. *Ramsay Traquair, Hon. M.A. (McGill) F.R.I.B.A.* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI(6), June, 1939, 147-8). An article written on the retirement of Professor Traquair from the Macdonald Chair in Architecture at McGill University.

Ottawa Group, Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. *Health insurance services* (Food for thought series, II(7), March, 1942, 6-22, 10c.). A laymen's report on state medicine, covering study of comprehensive systems of state medicine as in New Zealand and Soviet Russia, state-assisted schemes as in Great Britain and some Canadian provinces, group health insurance plans, and industrial medical schemes.

PRINCE, A. E. *Morale and public opinion in Canada*. (A report of a round table held by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs at its eighth annual conference, Kingston, Ontario, May, 1941.) Toronto: The Institute. 1941. Pp. 14.

PURVIS, ARTHUR B. *Organization for housing* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI(4), April, 1939, 77). The absence of local and community organizations has hindered the progress of large projects of low-rental housing.

[Royal Society of Canada.] *The wise use of our resources*. (Papers from the Joint Session of Sections of the Royal Society of Canada, May 21, 1941.) Ottawa: The Royal Society. 1942. Pp. 51. This pamphlet consists of four papers by members of the various sections: "The Economic Aspect" by H. A. Innis; "Agriculture and Forestry" by Robert Newton; "The Role of Mining" by J. J. O'Neill; "Résumé" by A. G. Huntsman, together with a foreword by R. C. Wallace and a statement by the Committee of Council.

SCOTT, F. R. *What did "no" mean?* (Canadian forum, XXII(257), June, 1942, 71-3). "All that Quebec means by the 'no' vote is that she does not wish her children to die for any country other than her own."

SISSONS, C. B. *The life story of James Shaver Woodsworth* (Saturday night, LVII(29), March 28, 1942, 14). The recent death of the founder of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation brings a review of his life and activities.

*Transactions of the Canadian Conservation Association, May 9 and 10, 1941, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario*. London, Ont.: The Assoc., the University, H. B. Hitchcock, sec.-treas. 1941. Pp. vi, 146. (\$1.00)

## V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

### (1) The Maritime Provinces

*Halifax, Nova Scotia, "the great harbour."* Halifax: The Mayor, Aldermen and Corporation of the City. 1941. Pp. 24. A souvenir booklet outlining the history of the city and issued to commemorate the centennial of incorporation of the city of Halifax in 1841.

HARRIS, KENNETH D. *Restoration of the Habitation of Port Royal, Lower Granville, Nova Scotia* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVII(7), July, 1940, 111-16). Describes the reconstruction of Champlain's *Habitation*, built in 1605 and destroyed in 1613.

KEIRSTEAD, B. S. *The effect of the war on the Maritime Provinces* (Public affairs, V(3), spring, 1942, 139-42). To a large extent the effects of the war in the Maritimes correspond to those in other parts of the Dominion—increased income, expanding industries, construction booms, etc.—but the author points out that this cannot be expected to continue in the post-war period and that industrial power will remain with the central provinces.

MARTELL, J. S. *A documentary study of provincial finance and currency, 1812-36*. (Bulletin of Public Archives of Nova Scotia, II(4).) Halifax: Public Archives. 1941. Pp. 73.

Nova Scotia, Province of. *Report of Board of Trustees of Public Archives of Nova Scotia for year ended November 30, 1941*. Halifax: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 45.

## (2) The Province of Quebec

COLLARD, EDGAR ANDREW. *Some Victorian authors as visitors to Montreal* (McGill news, XXIII(3), spring, 1942, 7-10, 53). The one hundredth anniversary of Charles Dickens's visit to Montreal in 1842 recalls his impressions of the city, and those of other Victorian writers, such as Sir Charles Lyell, Captain Frederick Marryat, Anthony Trollope, Sir William Logan, and finally Samuel Butler ("O God! O Montreal"!).

DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *Champlain et Montréal* (Canada français, XXIX(8), avril, 1942, 597-611). Tells of Champlain's brief appearances at the site of the present Montreal between 1611 and 1615.

GAGNÉ, EUGÈNE. *Les Madelinots et la colonisation; Les Madelinots en colonie* (Canada français, XXIX (7, 9), mars, mai, 1942, 509-17, 724-30). Describes the background and achievements of the inhabitants of the îles de la Madeleine in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, some of whom were established by the Province of Quebec in the Abitibi district in 1941.

GARANT, CHARLES-OMER. *Mgr Louis-Adolphe Pâquet* (Canada français, XXIX (8), avril, 1942, 668-75). Brief biography of Mgr Pâquet (1859-1942) who became director of the Grand Séminaire of Quebec in 1902 and founded the Académie canadienne de St-Thomas d'Aquin in 1930.

LAFONTAINE, GEORGES. *Le coopérativisme et l'organisation économique de la Gaspésie*. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valquette. [1942]. Pp. 121. (75c.)

League of Social Reconstruction, Montreal Study Group. *Distribution of income in Quebec* (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 255), April, 1942, 19-20). In all industries the Quebec figures are compared with those of Ontario. "Ontario's task of social reconstruction is, we have seen, considerable. Quebec's is more so."

MASICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'ameublement à Montréal aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (suite et fin)* (B.R.H., XLVIII (3), mars, 1942, 75-86). Continues the list begun in the February issue of common articles of furniture and household utensils.

— *L'immeuble de l'Institut Canadien* (B.R.H., XLVIII (3), mars, 1942, 91-4). Tells of the various buildings housing the Institut Canadien since its foundation in Montreal in 1844.

MORIN, VICTOR. *Seigneurs et censitaires, castes disparues*. Montreal: Les Editions des Dix. 1941. Pp. 104. This is a carefully prepared essay by a well-known member of *Les Dix* devoted chiefly to a comparison of the feudal system of France with its adapted counterpart, the seigneurial system of Canada. Fresh material concerning the abolition of the system in Canada appears in the latter part of the book. The author is well able to discuss this aspect of the subject since he is Vice-president of the *Syndicat National du Rachat des Rentes seigneuriales*. The bibliography, appendices, and glossary of feudal terms will be of use to the student. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

NOBBS, FRANCIS J. *History of the Carillon Barracks Museum* [Argenteuil County, P.Q.] (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI (6), June, 1939, 138-41, 148). Now a museum, the barracks at Carillon were important strategically because of their situation on the Ottawa River, at the foot of the Long Sault Rapids.

Quebec, Secretariat de la Province de. *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1941* par ANTOINE ROY. Quebec: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. viii, 489.

ROBERTS, NANCY. *Laurier's birthplace* (Canadian homes and gardens, Jan.-Feb., 1942, 16-17, 32). The first home of Canada's great statesman has been acquired as a national historic site, carefully restored and furnished in the style of a century ago.

SABAGH, GEORGES. *The fertility of the French-Canadian women during the seventeenth century* (American journal of sociology, XLVII (5), March, 1942, 680-9). The

French-Canadian censuses of 1666, 1667, and 1681 are analysed to throw light on the alleged phenomenal fertility of the early settlers, the conclusion suggested being that the apparent high fertility is largely attributable to the fact that practically all women were married and at a very early age.

WILSON, EUGENE E. *Anticosti Island, nugget of the north* (National geographic magazine, LXXXI (1), Jan., 1942, 120-40). Describes life, customs, and sport on the Island, formerly owned by Henri Menier, French millionaire.

(3) **The Province of Ontario**

BEAN, CLIVE S. *History of Doon* (Waterloo Historical Society report, 1941, 164-72). A short history of this village in Waterloo County, Ontario.

GRAYSON, ETHEL KIRK. *Fires in the vine*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1942. Pp. xii, 497. (\$3.00) The scene of this novel is Ontario in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

HAMILTON, R. S. *The history of secondary education in Galt*. Part I. *The Howe régime* (Waterloo Historical Society report, 1941, 158-61). Describes the opening of the first school in Galt under the mastership of Michael C. Howe.

HILL, H. P. *The origin of our capital* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI (3), March, 1939, 45-8). An address on the growth and development of Ottawa given at the annual dinner of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in Ottawa, 1939.

JOHANNES, J. *History of Blair* (Waterloo Historical Society report, 1941, 162-4). A short history of this village in Waterloo County, Ontario.

JURY, WILFRID. *The Alway prehistoric site in Lobo township, Middlesex County, Ontario* (Bulletin of the Museums, University of Western Ontario, no. 1.) Pp. 4, 4 plates. London: The University. 1937. (mimeo.)

— *Clearville prehistoric village site in Orford township, Kent County, Ontario*. (Bulletin of the Museums, University of Western Ontario, no. 2.) London: The University. 1941. Pp. 5, with 16 plates and maps. (mimeo.)

LAVELL, ALFRED E. *The beginning of Ontario mental hospitals* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX (1), spring, 1942, 59-67). Not until 1841 was the first lunatic asylum in Upper Canada opened, and it was badly overcrowded, unhealthy, and poorly run.

MAHEUX, L'abbé ARTHUR. *French Canada and Britain: A new interpretation*. Translated by R. M. SAUNDERS. (Contemporary Affairs series, no. 13.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. vi, 121. (\$1.00 paper; \$1.50 cloth) This is a translation of Abbé Maheux's *Ton Histoire est un Épopée*. I. *Nos Débuts sous le régime anglais*, which was reviewed by Professor A. L. Burt in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for December, 1941, pp. 436-7. The book has been published in English under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The translation is by Dr. R. M. Saunders, of the Department of History, University of Toronto: it is an excellent piece of work in easy, idiomatic English. All those who had a hand in the publication are to be warmly commended. We need more translations of French-Canadian books in English and more translations of English-Canadian books in French. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

POWELL, M. *Forty years agrowing*. Port Perry, Ont.: Port Perry Star. 1941. Pp. 96. (\$1.00) A history of Ontario women's institutes.

SAUNDERS, LESLIE H. (comp.). *The story of Orangeism: Its origin and history for a century and a quarter in Canada, particularly Ontario West*. Owen Sound: The Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario West. 1941. Pp. 40.

SOMERVILLE, W. L. *Fort Henry, Kingston, Ontario* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVI (6), June, 1939, 136-7). Recent restoration of the fort,

1936-8, revives interest in its historical associations. It was built during the unsettled period following the War of 1812, as one of five in the Duke of Wellington's system of defence to protect the mouth of the Rideau Canal, the City of Kingston, and its naval base.

Waterloo Historical Society. *Twenty-ninth annual report, 1941*. Kitchener, Ont.: The Society. March, 1942. Pp. 145-200. The articles are listed in this bibliography.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

FINIS, GEORGE. *Saskatchewan on the eve* (Canadian forum, XXII (255), April, 1942, 8-10). A survey of the political scene on the eve of a provincial election reveals good prospects for the C.C.F.

KNOX, OLIVE. *Red River cart* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 39-43). The varied usefulness of the Red River cart, its extreme practicality, requiring only wood and few tools to make and mend, accounted for its wide use in the Red River country in the nineteenth century.

NEAL, W. N. *What lies ahead for the prairie west?* (Forest and outdoors, Jan., 1942, 5-6, 14).

#### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

*Documents relating to the mystery of Mrs. Barkley's diary. I. Extracts from the diaries of Frances Hornby Barkley. II. Extracts from the reminiscences of Frances Hornby Barkley* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (1), Jan., 1942, 49-59). Unfortunately the portions of Mrs. Barkley's diary relating to the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca by her husband, Captain Charles William Barkley, of the *Imperial Eagle*, 1786-7, cannot be found.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Inventaire des testaments, donations et inventaires du régime français conservés aux Archives judiciaires de Québec*. 3 vols. Québec: Aux Archives 1941. Pp. 300 each. This calendar of wills, deeds, and inventories preserved in the Archives judiciaires of Quebec reveals the presence of a great mine of material which has never been adequately explored or made available for the study of the social and cultural history of the French period. How much in the way of information on social customs, manners, dress, furniture, tools, etc. may be found in such documents is shown in the few complete wills published in the latter part of Volume II. There is a selection of more important wills, including those of governors, bishops, military officers and others. The inventory of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's property, dated June 19, 1726, is especially noteworthy (vol. III, pp. 189-238). Students should be encouraged to use this material. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

ELLIOTT, T. C. (ed.). *Letter of Donald McKenzie to Wilson Price Hunt* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLIII (1), March, 1942, 10-13). A personal letter written in 1821 from Fort Nez Perces (Walla Walla) by one of the field partners of the North West Company to the leader of John Jacob Astor's company of fur traders. Both Hunt and McKenzie had been together in the overland party of Astorians, 1809-12.

HOWAY, F. W. *The first use of the sail by the Indians of the Northwest coast* (American Neptune, I(4), Oct., 1941, 374-80).

(ed.). *Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793*. (Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, vol. 79.) Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society. 1941. Pp. xxiv, 518. To be reviewed later.

LAMB, W. KAYE. *The mystery of Mrs. Barkley's diary: Notes on the voyage of the "Imperial Eagle," 1786-87* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (1), Jan., 1942, 31-47). Points out that the voyage of the *Imperial Eagle* and her arrival at Nootka Sound in June, 1787, is important historically, since her captain, Captain Charles William Barkley, discovered the strait now known as Juan de Fuca. Unfortunately the only document telling of the discovery, Mrs. Barkley's diary, is missing.

MILLER, HUNTER (ed. and trans.). *Northwest water boundary: Report of the experts summoned by the German Emperor as arbitrator under Articles 34-42 of the Treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871, preliminary to his award dated October 21, 1872.* (Seattle, University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, XIII (1), Jan., 1942, 75 pp.).

OVERTON, RICHARD C. *Some sources for Northwest history: Railroad archives* (Minnesota history, XXIII (1), March, 1942, 52-6). In the social and economic sense the history of the Northwest might almost be written in terms of railways.

RICKARD, T. A. *Discovery of gold in B.C.* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 46-9). The finding of gold by Indians on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the banks of the Thompson River led up to the B.C. gold rushes.

STANWELL-FLETCHER, JOHN F. *Three years in the wolves' wilderness* (Natural history, XLIX (3), March, 1942, 136-47). The author and his wife lived for three years in Driftwood Valley, British Columbia, two hundred miles from civilization, to study the wildlife in natural conditions throughout all the seasons. Their collections and observations were made on behalf of the British Columbia Provincial Museum at Victoria.

WOLFF, MARTIN (trans.). *Benjamin II on British Columbia.* A section from his *Drei Jahre in Amerika*. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, Archives Committee. April, 1940. Pp. 5 (mimeo.).

(6) **North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions**  
Alaska, Planning Council. *General information regarding Alaska.* Juneau, Alaska: The Council. 1941. Pp. 176.

ALBEE, WILLIAM HAMILTON and ALBEE, RUTH. *Family afoot in Yukon wilds* (National geographic magazine, LXXXI (5), May, 1942, 589-616). Two young children and their parents hiked more than three hundred miles through the wilderness of southeastern Yukon Territory, the country now to be traversed by the Alaska highway.

BANKS, W. J. *Canada's northland and the war* (Empire review, no. 495, April, 1942, 172-5).

BEACH, REX ELLINGWOOD. *Personal exposures.* New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1940. Pp. vi, 303. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

BÉRIAULT, YVON. *Les Problèmes politiques du nord canadien: Le Canada et le Groenland: A qui appartient l'Archipel arctique?* Préface de M. MAURICE OLLIVIER. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette; Ottawa: Université d'Ottawa, Ecole des Sciences Politiques. 1942. Pp. 204. To be reviewed later.

BRIDE, W. W. and CRISP, G. W. *Telegraph Creek* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 12-17). Gateway to the goldfields, to the Cassiar big game country, and to the new U.S.-Alaska chain of airports, this little village at the head of the Stikine River in northern British Columbia has an entertaining history.

DAY, A. GROVE. *The earliest explorer-traders of the Northwest Coast* (United States Naval Institute proceedings, Dec., 1941).

EDELSSTEIN, JULIUS C. *Alaska: Pivot of strategy* (New republic, vol. 106 (19), May 11, 1942, 625-7).

FINNIE, RICHARD. *Canada moves north.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xii, 227. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *I forged the first link in the Alaska highway* (Country guide, May, 1942, 8, 61). Recalls that back in 1925 he blazed the pioneer Hudson's Bay Road

from Fort St. John on the Peace River three hundred miles through the wilderness to Fort Nelson in British Columbia, a stretch now the first link in the 1200-mile Canada-Alaska International Defence Highway.

HANSON, EARL PARKER. *Stefansson: Prophet of the north.* New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1941. Pp. xiv, 241. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

MERRICK, ELLIOTT. *Northern nurse.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. vi, 311. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

NEUBERGER, RICHARD L. *Alaska: Northern front* (Survey graphic, Feb., 1942).

NIELSEN, AXEL and LEARMONTH, L. A. *Dried fish* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 22-5). The catching and drying of fish is one of the "major industries" in the land of dog teams.

REASON, JOYCE. *Deep sea doctor.* (Eagle series.) London: Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, Sloane Square. 1941. Pp. 32. (3d.) A biography of Sir Wilfrid Grenfell.

SHAW, CHARLES L. *Warpath to Alaska* (Canadian business, XV (4), April, 1942, 36-8, 124). Discusses the strategic value of the Alaska highway, both for defence and ultimately for carrying the war to the enemy across the Arctic wastes.

TWOMEY, ARTHUR C. in collaboration with NIGEL HERRICK. *Needle to the north: The story of an expedition to Ungava and the Belcher Islands.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company [Toronto: T. Allen]. 1942. Pp. viii, 360. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

TYRELL, JAMES W. *Description of a notable journey of 4600 miles through northern Canada, made 42 years ago* (Annual report of Ontario Land Surveyors Association, Toronto, 1942, 116-38). Describes an exploration survey of the country lying between Great Slave Lake and Hudson Bay in the Districts of Mackenzie and Keewatin in 1900.

WILLOUGHBY, FLORENCE BARRETT. *Alaska holiday.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1941. Pp. viii, 296. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

WOLFE, ALFRED. *In Alaskan waters.* Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1942. Pp. 196. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

ZEUSLER, F. A. *Alaskan names* (United States Naval Institute proceedings, LXVII (no. 464), Oct., 1941, 1428-31).

#### (7) Newfoundland

RYAN, FRANK. *New life in an old land* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 26-30). Many changes are taking place in Newfoundland with the increased prosperity brought to the island by the defence projects of the United States and Canada.

### VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

#### (1) Price Control

*Canada.* III. *Price and wage ceilings* (Round table, no. 126, March, 1942, 304-9). A discussion of the price and wage control system, the reasons for its introduction and extension, and the consequent increased responsibility of the government authorities for stepping into more and more fields of economic activity.

*Canada, Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Fighting inflation* by FREDERICK GRIFFIN. (Price control in Canada, booklet no. 2.) Ottawa: King's Printer. Feb., 1942. Pp. 39.

*Canadian wartime economic control measures* (Institute of International Finance of New York University bulletin, Dec. 30, 1941, 1-24).

ILSLEY, J. L. *Subsidies and price control* [excerpts from speech in House of Commons, Thursday, April 23, 1942]. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 12.

MACKINTOSH, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD. *Price and wage ceilings—why?* Toronto: The Canadian Club. 1941. Pp. 19. An address delivered before a meeting of the Canadian Club at Toronto, Canada on Monday, Nov. 17, 1941.

PAIN, RUTH V. *Price peg policies: Canada-Great Britain-United States.* (Behind the headlines series, II (7).) 1942. Pp. 28. (10c.) A study and comparison of price control policies in the three countries.

PETERSON, AVERY F. *The machinery of Canadian price control* (Foreign commerce weekly, March 7, 1942, 4-5, 25).

STEEL, GORDON. *Trends in price control in Canada.* Toronto: Canadian Credit Institute, bull. no. 119. April, 1942. Pp. 12. A general outline.

### (2) Agriculture

BRITAIN, W. H. (ed.). *Canadian farm problems, economic series, 1940-1.* Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. 1940-1. (10c. each)

Canada, Dept. of Agriculture, Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Branch, Pamphlets. 1. *The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act.* 2. *Cultural activities under the P.F.R.A.* 3. *Soil and economic surveys; soil surveys.* 4. *Range conservation.* 5. *Community pastures.* 6. *Re-settlement.* 7. *Val Marie irrigation project.* 8. *Water developments.* 9. *P.F.R. water development program; small community and municipal projects.* 10. *Large projects.* 11. *Engineering and agricultural services provided for water development under P.F.R.A.* 12. *Use of aerial surveys in P.F.R.A. work.* Ottawa: The Dept. 1942.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Eighth census of Canada, 1941; Census of agriculture bulletins. No. 4. *Saskatchewan: Number of occupied farms and of fruit and vegetable farms by census division and municipality.* Feb. 11, 1942. No. 5. *New Brunswick: Number of occupied farms and fruit and vegetable farms by county and parish.* Feb. 19, 1942. No. 6. *Prince Edward Island, Number of occupied farms and fruit and vegetable farms by county and parish.* Ottawa: The Bureau. 1942.

Canadian Federation of Agriculture. *What share of the national income does the farmer get?* Toronto: The Federation, 28 Duke Street. 1941. Pp. 16.

CHAPMAN, L. J. *Adaptation of crops in Ontario* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (5), May, 1942, 248-54). The collection of all available information about climate, soil, and yield and quality of crops grown in the various sections forms the basis of all crop adaptation work.

LAMBERT, N. P. *What next?* (Country guide, LXI (2), Feb., 1942, 7, 34). The first of a series of articles on the war and Canadian agriculture.

### (3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

CHARLES, ENID. *The trend of fertility in Prince Edward Island* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VIII (2), May, 1942, 213-46). In view of the rarity of stable or rising fertility, a community like Prince Edward Island where total fertility has been unusually stable for the last fifty years, is worthy of close study.

MACINNIS, GRACE. *Wanted: A country* (Canadian forum, XXII (257), June, 1942, 74-6). The evacuation of the Japanese-Canadians from the British Columbia coast has been costly and complicated, though necessary, and leaves unsettled the question of what is to be done with this minority after the war.

TURCOTTE, EDMOND. *Réflexions sur l'avenir des Canadiens français.* Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1942. Pp. 167. (75c.)

VERGOTTINI, MARIO DE. *Saggio de demografia degli Italiani all'estero* [study of the demography of Italians abroad] (Annali di statistica, serie VII, vol. VI, Roma, 1940, 254 pp.). This detailed study of Italians in the United States, Canada, and Australia, includes analyses of numbers, distribution, urbanization, sex ratios, age structure, economic status, fertility, mortality, and trends in vital rates.

(4) **Geography**

VOKES, H. E. *Changing Niagara* (Natural history, XLIX (3), March, 1942, 156-60). Niagara Falls has shifted its position nearly a quarter of a mile in 264 years, and is sure to change its appearance in years to come.

(5) **Transportation and Communication**

BARCLAY, D. W. *Wings for a railroad* (Canadian business, XV (3), March, 1942, 44-6). Speculates upon the significance for the future of the recent merger of many northern airlines.

BARNES, ANDREW. *St. Lawrence seaway project* (Public utility fortnightly [Washington], Jan. 1, 1942).

BEATTY, Sir EDWARD. *The railways' contribution to Canada's war effort* (Public affairs, V (3), spring, 1942, 123-7). The railways have met successfully all the heavy demands which the war has made upon them, but the author sees clearly that when the war is over the railway problem will still exist.

BELL, RALPH P. *Canada's aircraft industry* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (3), March, 1942, 113-45). Describes the development of the aircraft industry from its birth in 1909.

CLAY, CHARLES. *Canadian cargo boats to bridge the Atlantic* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (4), April, 1942, 188-99). Gives information about the Cargo Boat and the Ship-Repairs divisions of Canada's ship-building programme.

DEWET, J. P. *Air lanes and airlines of Western Canada* (Pre-Cambrian, March, 1942, 2-9, 12). Deals with the pioneer days of aviation.

MAIN, J. R. K. *Progress of civil aviation in Canada* (Public affairs, V (3), spring, 1942, 128-31). Traces its history from 1909 to the present.

Ottawa Correspondent. *The St. Lawrence waterway* (Economist, CXLI, no. 5110, Aug. 2, 1941, 135-6). Points out that opposition to the scheme is strong both in the United States and in Canada, but that its achievement does not appear distant.

RABAUT, LOUIS C. *Pertinent questions and answers concerning the St. Lawrence seaway and power project. Extension of remarks of . . . in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, June 24, 1941.* [N.p., 1941.] Pp. 28. Reprinted from the Congressional record.

PEARS, WILLIAM HUNTER. *America's fascinating highways: Eastern United States and Canada.* Chicago: Osburn Publishing Co., 213 W. Institute Place. 1941. Pp. 272. (\$2.00)

United States Committee on Rivers and Harbors. *Hearings on the subject of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway and power project. Part I. June 17 to July 9, 1941.* Revised. Pp. 1104.

United States Dept. of Commerce. *St. Lawrence survey. 7. Summary report, including the national defense aspects of the St. Lawrence project.* Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents. 1941. Pp. 147.

**VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY**

CORBETT, E. A. "But, is it education?" (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (4), winter, 1941-2, 388-400). Describes early days on the staff of the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta, the system of adult education generally, and the work of the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

DORMAN, GEORGE EDWARD. *School history confusion on forty-nine north* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLII (4), Dec., 1941, 295-302). Analyses statements concerning the Canadian-American boundary controversy and settlement of 1846 as given in some secondary works.

FOX, W. SHERWOOD. *United Canada in miniature* (Saturday night, LVII (23), Feb. 14, 1942, 30). Describes the work of the French summer school of the University of Western Ontario at Trois-Pistoles, Quebec.

MCCUTCHEON, J. M. *Public education in Ontario*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1941. Pp. viii, 283. (\$1.50) Traces the evolution of public education in Ontario from its beginning down to the present.

MAGNAN, C.-J. *Educateurs d'autrefois: Anciens professeurs à l'Ecole normale Laval*: III. *M. Napoléon Lacasse* (1824-1907); IV. *F.-E. Juneau* (1816-1886) (B.R.H., XLVIII (1, 2), janv., fév., 1942, 15-19, 44-50).

THOMPSON, WATSON. *Education and propaganda* (Canadian forum, XXI (253), Feb., 1942, 328-31). Discusses how the adult education movement is to steer its way between "sterile purism" and the indiscriminating zeal of the flagwaggers.

WALLACE, R. C. *Education for the people* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 29, 70). Provincial responsibility for education is an advantage, since each provincial area may develop that particular kind of education which best suits the temperament and life of its people.

### VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

ADAMS, FRANK DAWSON. *A history of Christ Church [Anglican] Cathedral, Montreal*. Montreal: Burton's Ltd. 1941. Pp. xii, 226, iv. (\$1.50) The archives of the Cathedral and of the Diocese of Montreal, and records in the McCord Museum of McGill University have been drawn on for the material in this interesting volume, and in addition the oral and written testimony of members of the Cathedral's congregation is included. Biographical sketches of the Bishops of Montreal and some account of the rectors, vicars, and deans are given.

CAMERON, FRANK. *Botany Church: Records and memories of Botany Presbyterian Church and its successor, St. John's United Church, 1858-1941*. Howard Township, Ont.: The author, N ½ lot 9, Con. 3. 1941. Pp. 37. A Presbyterian congregation in Howard Township, Kent County, Ontario, established in 1858.

CRESSMAN, J. BOYD. *Bishop Benjamin Eby* (Waterloo Historical Society report, 1941, 152-8). An estimate of this Bishop of the Mennonite community of Waterloo, born 1785, died 1853.

DOYLE, Sister St. IGNATIUS. *Marguerite Bourgeoys and her congregation*. Gardenvale, P.Q.: Garden City Press. 1940. Pp. xx, 318. To be reviewed later.

PORTER, HORACE A. *The story of a mother parish: Historic Trinity Church, Saint John, N.B., celebrates its sesquicentennial* (Canadian churchman, LIX (9), Feb. 26, 1942, 132-3). Part II of the series. Part I of this series, which appeared in the Dec. 18, 1941, issue, dealt with the history of the parish down to the time of the Great Fire of Saint John in 1877 when Old Trinity was destroyed. Part II concerns itself with the history of the present Trinity Church, which arose from the ashes of the old.

St. Clement's Church, Toronto. *History of the Church, 1891-1941*. Toronto: The Church, St. Clement's and Duplex Avenues. 1941. Pp. 16. A history of St. Clement's Anglican Church, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1941.

SCHOFIELD, EMILY M. *Charles Develier Schofield, late bishop of British Columbia*. Victoria, B.C.: The author, 2785 Beach Drive. 1941. Pp. 69. (50c.) An biographical sketch of the late Bishop of British Columbia, pleasantly written and largely personal in character. [R. G. RIDDELL]

SLATER, G. HOLLIS. *New light on Herbert Beaver* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (1), Jan., 1942, 13-29). More material on the career of the Rev. Herbert Beaver, first chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains.

*Souvenirs d'Edouard de Mondésir; Sur Saint-Sulpice pendant la Révolution.—La Fondation du Séminaire de Baltimore.—La vie au Canada et aux Etats-Unis à la fin du dix-huitième siècle et le Voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique.* Aven une introduction par GILBERT CHINARD. (Institut Français de Washington, Historical Documents.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. [vi], 60. (\$1.50)

*Sutherland centennial, 1841-1941.* N.p. N.d. Pp. 16. Booklet issued to commemorate one hundred years of the ministrations of the Anglican Church in the Parish of Moore (Lambton County, Ontario) and of the part played by Thomas Sutherland in establishing Anglican worship in this area. [J. J. TALMAN]

*Le troisième Centenaire de Saint-Sulpice.* Montreal: Le Devoir. Pp. 200. A collection of speeches and articles celebrating the tercentenary of Saint-Sulpice. This order has never received adequate recognition by historians for the important role which it has played in Canadian and American history. Unfortunately this volume does not fill the gap. There is a good deal of information in this book but the book has no index, and the various papers are so arranged, or rather un-arranged from the student's point of view, as to make the volume of little use. The history of the Sulpician Order has still to be written. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

Women's Baptist Missionary Society of Ontario West, Publications Committee. *From sea to sea: A study book of home missions.* N.p. [Toronto: The Board, 223 Church St.], 1940. Pp. x, 262. Brief records by various authors of the origins and growth of Baptist missionary establishments in Canada.

Yorkminster Discussion Group. *Concerning religious instruction in the schools: Conclusions resulting from addresses, study and discussion of this subject, January to July, 1941.* Toronto: The Group, Yorkminster Baptist Church, Yonge St. above St. Clair. 1941. Pp. 7. The group advocates increased Bible study and religious instruction to be given by qualified teachers, and leading to examination or other approved tests.

## IX. GENEALOGY

BARRY, HOVEY BURGESS. *Burgess genealogy: King's County, Nova Scotia, branch of the descendants of Thomas and Dorothy Burgess who came from England in 1630 and settled in Sandwich, Massachusetts.* New York: Chas. E. Fitchett. 1941. Pp. xiv, 77.

FRIES, A. J. *The Pennsylvania German family named Kinsey* (Waterloo Historical Society report, 1941, 173-82). Jacob Kintsing, who came to Pennsylvania in 1737, was probably the ancestor of the many Kinseys now scattered over the United States and Canada.

ROBITAILLE, GEORGES. *Les origines d'une famille joliettaine* (B.R.H., XLVIII (3), mars, 1942, 65-75). The first ancestor of the author to settle in Joliette was Louis Robitaille who in 1872, at the age of 22, established a pharmacy in that Quebec town.

## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

BEERS, HENRY P. *Bibliographies in American history: Guide to materials for research.* New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1942. Pp. xvi, 487. (\$4.75) The first edition of this very useful bibliography was published in 1938 and was reviewed in this journal in the December, 1938, issue, p. 411. The new and revised edition has practically doubled in size, some 4000 new titles having been added. The additions include, in addition to published works, compilations in progress, manuscript bibliographies, and several hundred cartographical titles. Like the first

edition, it lists titles on American history, economics, and allied subjects, no matter where published. There is an extensive author and subject index.

GRIER, MARY C. (comp.). *Oceanography of the North Pacific Ocean, Bering Sea, and Bering Strait: A contribution toward bibliography.* (University of Washington Publications, Library series, vol. II.) Seattle: The University. 1941. Pp. 290.

LORTIE, LUCIEN. *Bibliographie analytique de l'œuvre de l'abbé Arthur Maheux, précédée d'une biographie.* Préface de Mgr Camille Roy. Quebec: N.p. [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1942. Pp. 159.

MILLER, GENEVIEVE (ed.). *Bibliography of the history of medicine in the United States and Canada, 1941* (Bulletin of the history of medicine, XI (4), April, 1942, 437-73). The material is arranged under various headings: Biography, dentistry, local history, medical education, surgery, hospitals, nursing, surgery, etc.

R., P.-G. *Références biographiques canadiennes* (B.R.H., XLVIII (4, 5), avril, mai, 1942, 97-120, 149-160). Very brief notes on a wide range of names in Canadian history arranged alphabetically from *Abancour* to *Auber*.

WINTON, HARRY N. M. *A Pacific Northwest bibliography, 1941* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXIII (2), April, 1942, 187-203). Comprises articles in Pacific Northwest history and related fields in periodical publications for the year 1941.

U. S. Library of Congress. *Canada: A selected list of recent books and pamphlets.* Washington: The Library. 1942. Pp. 145 (mimeo.).

## XI. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Nos bâtisseurs* (Canada français, XXIX (3), nov., 1941, 169-74). Considers some architects and builders of New France.

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*Arts et métiers* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 27ème année (108), déc., 1941, 385-91). Reviews the development of crafts in Quebec since the foundation of the École des Arts et Métiers in 1675.  
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and DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *Contes populaires canadiens* (septième série) (Journal of American folk-lore, 53 (208-9), April-Sept., 1940, 89-190). Thirty folk-tales collected for the most part by Adélard Lambert, communicated to Marius Barbeau, and prepared by Pierre Daviault; also a number of children's games collected by Adélard Lambert and prepared by Marius Barbeau.

BIRNEY, EARLE. *Advice to anthologists: Some rude reflections on Canadian verse* (Canadian forum, XXI (253), Feb., 1942, 338-40). Some satiric notes on the recent anthology of Canadian war verse, *Voices of Victory*.

British Columbia, Province of, British Columbia Library Commission. *Libraries in British Columbia, 1940: A reconsideration of the library survey of 1927-8.* Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 31.

BROWN, E. K. *Canadian nature poetry* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 54, 93). Points out the relationship between the spectacular Canadian landscape and the indigenous development of a virile nature poetry.

*Evolution of a native talent* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 47-9, 87). The development of Canadian art, from Père Hennepin to the Group of Seven.

GIBBON, J. MURRAY. *Folksongs of the French Canadians* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 59, 80). Through their folksongs one can learn much about the history, customs, and occupations of the French Canadians.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### SYMPOSIUM ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In the Editor's introductory note to the symposium on the American Revolution, which was presented in the March issue of the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, it was stated that the discussion might be continued in the present issue, and in particular that Professor Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University would contribute a paper on mercantilism and the American Revolution. Professor Hacker, has, however, been prevented by war work from carrying out his intention. We hope that we may receive his article at a later date.

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### THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Canadian Historical Association held its annual meeting at Trinity College in the University of Toronto on May 25-6, the sessions being concurrent with those of the Canadian Political Science Association. In point of attendance, quality of the papers, and general interest the meeting was equal to any the Association has ever had. At the first session, which was arranged in recognition of the 300th anniversary of Montreal, papers were presented by Dr. Gustave Lanctot, the Dominion Archivist, by M. Jean Bruchési, Sous-Secrétaire de la Province de Québec on "Monsieur de la Dauversière et la Fondation de Montréal," and by Professor E. R. Adair of McGill University on "The Evolution of Montreal during the French Régime." All but one of the remaining sessions centred around the period from Confederation to the end of the nineteenth century. The presidential address of Professor Fred Landon of the University of Western Ontario was a survey of conditions in Canada in the 1880's. Two papers were read at a session on Canadian-American relations, "The Fur Seal Fisheries and the Freedom of the Seas" by Professor Charles C. Tansill of Fordham University, and "The United States and Canadian Railway Competition in the North West" by Miss Lorna Savage of Columbia University. Canadian political ideas in the sixties and seventies were discussed in papers on Egerton Ryerson by Professor C. B. Sissons of Victoria College, Toronto, on Georges-Etienne Cartier by Professor J. I. Cooper of McGill University, and on "The Upper Canadian Reformers" by Professor F. H. Underhill, University of Toronto. "The Failure of the Historians" by Professor H. N. Fieldhouse of the University of Manitoba provided a basis for discussion in a general session. Professor Fieldhouse's paper had been circulated previously in mimeographed form. The discussion was led by Professors R. G. Trotter of Queen's University, J. B. Brebner of Columbia University, and Chester W. New of McMaster University. At a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association two papers were read: "Political Nationalism and Confederation" by Professor F. R. Scott of McGill University and "Economic Nationalism and Confederation" by Professor D. G. Creighton of the University of Toronto.

The papers will be printed in the annual *Report* of the Association, except that of Professor Scott which will appear in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

Among the items of business discussed by the Association and the Council, particular interest attached to the question of merging the annual report of the Association with the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, and at the same time possibly initiating some additional type of publication for the Association. There appeared to be general agreement as to the desirability of such a change and a committee was appointed to explore the matter in detail. The following officers were elected: President, A. R. M. Lower, United College, Winnipeg; vice-president, George W. Brown, University of Toronto; English secretary-treasurer, Norman Fee, The Public Archives, Ottawa; French secretary, Séraphin Marion, The Public Archives, Ottawa; new members of Council, to retire in 1945, John Irwin Cooper, McGill University; H. N. Fieldhouse, the University of Manitoba; G. S. Graham, Royal Canadian Naval College, Victoria, B.C.; D. C. Harvey, The Provincial Archives, Halifax, N.S.

R. G. Riddell and R. M. Saunders of the University of Toronto were appointed editors of the *Report*, and W. E. C. Harrison of Queen's University, chairman of the programme committee. The special thanks of the Association were tendered to Provost F. H. Cosgrave of Trinity College; to the Royal Ontario Museum and Dr. Sigmund Samuel, who entertained the Association at tea and arranged that members should see Dr. Samuel's collection of Canadiana recently presented to the museum; to Mr. R. G. Riddell, the editor of the Association's *Report* for 1941; to Professor F. H. Underhill, the chairman of the programme committee; and to Professors C. A. Ashley and Ralph Flenley who were in charge of local arrangements.

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#### THE CANADIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The first annual report of the Council, 1940-1, is of special interest as it contains a brief account of the origins and constitution of the Council. The reports of committees also give information with regard to research which is being carried on in the social sciences, grants-in-aids, publications, and the assistance which is being provided by the Carnegie Corporation. Copies of the report are obtainable from Dr. John E. Robbins, secretary-treasurer of the Council, 166 Marlborough Avenue, Ottawa.

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The following note, which we are pleased to print, has been received from Professor J. B. Brebner of Columbia University: At Columbia University during the academic year 1942-3, a weekly seminar in the Faculty of Political Science will be devoted to "Problems of the Western Hemisphere." It is hoped to supplement its regular membership of selected graduate students by the informal attendance of specially qualified persons in civil and military occupations outside the University. In particular, interested visitors to New York from other countries of the Western Hemisphere would be welcomed by Professor Frank Tannenbaum. Since his personal acquaintanceships are for the most part with Latin Americans, he would be grateful if it could be made known that he would be particularly glad to have the company of interested Canadians. The seminar meets for two hours on Wednesday afternoons at four o'clock, from late September to May, and Professor Tannenbaum's address is Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University.

## THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

The American Association for State and Local History has planned a publications programme for 1942 which has special reference to the activities of historical societies in a period of war. It is proposed to publish ten or more bulletins, some of which are as follows: "The Collection and Preservation of the Records of the Second World War"; "Local History and the Public Schools"; "The Local History Museum and the War"; "The Protection and Care of Historic Buildings and Sites"; "A Publication Program for a Local Historical Society." Also, a new edition of the *Handbook of Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*, of which there are now more than 1200, is being prepared by Dr. S. K. Stevens, executive secretary of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.

## CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section.* The last annual report of the honorary secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree, contains an account of the meetings and activities of the society. Interest was well maintained throughout the year and excellent papers were presented at the meetings, including "Spanish Contributions to the Botanical Explorations of the Pacific Northwest" by Mr. J. W. Eastham, "Fifty Years Ago in the Canning Industry" by Mr. George S. McTavish, "Yukon—the Ways In" by Major Nation of the Mineralogical Branch of the provincial Department of Mines. Officers: president, Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson; vice-president, Mr. F. C. Green; honorary secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; honorary treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden.

*The Brome County Historical Society.* Officers: honorary presidents, Mr. Z. E. Martin, Chicago, and Mr. James Wilson, Montreal and Knowlton; president, Mr. Homer A. Mitchell, Montreal and Knowlton; secretary-treasurer, Mr. Harry B. Shufelt, 3556 Shuter Street, Montreal, and Knowlton, P.Q.

*The Champlain Society* has issued the fourth volume in its Hudson's Bay series, "McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 1825-38" edited by E. E. Rich with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb of the University of British Columbia.

*The Historical Society of Argenteuil County* reports an increasing membership and a growing interest in its activities. In a previous issue, reference was made to the establishment of the Society's historical museum. By arrangement with the Dominion government it is excellently housed in the old barracks at Carillon, Quebec, which have been restored. Numerous additions have been made to the collections in the museum. Of special interest are the completion of the Sir John Abbott Memorial Room, with memorials of Dr. Maude Abbott and her portrait, donated by the artist Mrs. Eastlake; the completion of the Habitant Kitchen with the addition of several pieces of original old French-Canadian furniture; and the instalment of a fine representation of local birds and their nests, through the co-operation of a number of members and of the Zoology Department of McGill University. The late Dr. Maude Abbott wrote widely on subjects of local and provincial history. A bibliography of her published works was included in *Maude Abbott: A Memoir* by Dr. H. E. MacDermot, (Toronto, 1941). Officers: president, Dr. H. B. Cushing, 659 Victoria Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.; secretary, Miss Beatrice Robertson, St. Andrews East, P.Q.; treasurer, K. E. Walsh, St. Andrews East, P.Q.

*Les Dix.* The last volume of *Les Cahiers des Dix* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. Other publications which have been recently undertaken or planned include "Les Députés de Montréal de 1791 à 1867" by M. F.-J. Audet; "Le Régime seigneurial et son abolition" by Dr. Victor Morin, reprinted from *Les Cahiers des Dix*; "Les Forges Saint-Maurice" by the abbé Albert Tessier. Vacancies during the past year have been filled by M. Léo-Paul Desrosiers, and M. Maréchal Nantel, K.C. (G. Malchelosse)

*The Ontario Historical Society.* The annual meeting of the Society is being held at Simcoe, Ontario, on June 16-17.

*La Société historique de Montréal* held an exhibition in November last of manuscripts, publications, portraits, and other materials pertaining to the historian Benjamin Sulte. The exhibition was in commemoration of the centenary of his birth. Addresses were given by Dr. Victor Morin and M. Hervé Biron. The exhibition was arranged by M. Gérard Malchelosse.

The following papers were read before the society during 1941:

"En cherchant deux cents Charentaises . . .", by Pierre-J.-O. Boucher; "Jeanne Lajoie et la lutte du français", by M. H. Gagnon; "Les Peintres de la montée St.-Michel", by Olivier Maurault, P.D.; "William Chapman, d'après une correspondance", by le P. Alphonse Gauthier; "Les Coureurs de bois au XVIIe siècle", by Gérard Malchelosse; "Une étude d'architecture à l'église du Sault-au-Récollet", by Lucien Parent; "Pierre You de la Découverte et son fils, François d'Youville", by Madame Albertine Ferland-Angers; "Commémoration du Centenaire de la naissance de Benjamin Sulte," by MM. Hervé Biron et Victor Morin; "Une étude de Jacques Viger sur le premier registre de Montréal, 1642-1680", by le P. Léon Pouliot.

Officers: president, Olivier Maurault, P.D.; vice-president, Artistide Beaugrand-Champagne; treasurer, Montarville B. de la Bruère; secretary, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre; librarian, Léo-Paul Desrosiers; secretary's address: Old Court House, Montreal. (Jean-Jacques Lefebvre)

*La Société historique de Rigaud* reports the publication of biographies of Oscar McDonell, a native of Rigaud, by Rose Dauth and of R.-L. Séguin, the first member of Parliament of Vaudreuil, also a study of "Rigaud de Vaudreuil" by M. Elie Auclair. Officers: president, Father Gaspard Ducharme; secretary, Father Eucher Lefebvre.

*La Société historique de Saint-Boniface* has established a museum of western history in the crypt of the St. Boniface Cathedral. The exhibits number more than four thousand and have attracted a great many visitors. Each year for many years the Society has arranged a series of lectures on western history. It has also recently published *Fannystelle*, by Noël Bernier and *St. Malo: Paroisse manitobaine*, the publication in each case marking the fiftieth anniversary of the parish. The president has published an article, "Le Voyageur" in *Le Canada français* of December, 1941, January and February, 1942. Another member of the society, Mr. Guillaume Charette, lectured in Quebec at the annual meeting of *La Société du Parler Français* on the language of the Métis. The Society has marked a number of historic sites and assisted in the planning of historical celebrations. President, the Rev. Antoine D'Eschambault; secretary, the Rev. D. Lamys.

*La Société historique et littéraire acadienne* held its fourth meeting on December 30 last at the Université Saint-Joseph, N.B. It was decided to re-organize the society and to carry out a more active programme under a Comité d'initiatives. Officers: president, M. Henri Blanchard; vice-president, M. A.M. Robichaud; secretary-archivist, the abbé J. A. Allard.

*The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Vancouver Branch*, has continued its activities of collecting material and also has awarded for several years a medal for an essay competition arranged through the Department of History of British Columbia. Honorary president, Professor Merton Y. Williams; president, Miss Bessie P. Choate, who was organizing secretary from the beginning of the branch in 1932; secretary, Mrs. Lucille Hooker.

*The Upper Canada Railway Society* was established as a separate organization on October 17 last. It was previously organized as a branch of the Canadian Railroad Historical Association in Montreal. The Society has been actively engaged in promoting an interest in Canadian railway history, and is issuing a series of mimeographed bulletins in addition to notes on the activities of the society. These have contained a number of short articles of historical interest, including "Canadian Railway History, Some Bibliographic Suggestions," "Railways and Confederation" by John W. Griffin, "The Kettle Valley Railway" by John A. Wood, "Locomotives Built in Toronto" by A. Andrew Merrilees. The Society's address is Box 122, Terminal A, Toronto.

*Waterloo Historical Society*. The annual report for 1941, the twenty-ninth issued by the Society, contains several interesting articles which have been entered in our List of Recent Publications. The Society maintains a historical museum and has done much to preserve local historical records. Special attention is at present being given to the small villages of the county.

*The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*. Officers, president, Mrs. James R. Dickson, 2 Thornton Avenue, Ottawa; recording secretary, Mrs. D. Roy Cameron, 54 Park Road, Rockcliffe; treasurer, Mrs. C. E. Steeves, 500 Driveway, Ottawa; curator, Mrs. A. C. Kains, 9 Rideau Gate, Ottawa; corresponding secretary and librarian, Mrs. Beath Morden, 4 Frank Street, Ottawa.

#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

*The Public Archives of Canada*. The report for 1941 contains a continuation of the calendar of the *Q Series*—the official correspondence of the Governors—for Lower Canada. The years here covered are 1837-9. The last issue of this part of the calendar appeared in the Report for 1902.

*Public Archives of Nova Scotia*. The last annual report states that special work has been done by the staff during the year on two important sets of papers: those on agriculture, 1815-73, and on the treasury up to 1840. The report lists numerous acquisitions and also contains an appendix giving the names of settlers victualled at the public expense during the summer of 1750. The list is specially interesting because of the large number of New England names it contains, thereby confirming the statements of contemporary correspondents that about a thousand New Englanders had arrived in Halifax within the first year of its founding, and that they insisted on being victualled on the same basis as those who had been sent direct from England by the

Board of Trade. One bulletin was issued during the past year, "A Documentary Study of Provincial Finance and Currency, 1812-36" by Dr. J. S. Martell; the bulletin contains the results of intensive research.

*Queen's University* has added the following items, some of which are rare, to its already large collection of newspapers:

*The Albion* of Upper Canada, Feb. 13, 1836. 4 pp.

*The Argus*, Kingston, Canada, vol. I, no. 103, Thurs., Dec. 31, 1846. 4 pp.; vol. II, no. 102, Tues., Dec. 21, 1847. 4 pp.

*The Aurora*, Philadelphia, Sat., April 10, 1813. 4 pp.; Wed., July 7, 1813. 2 pp.; Wed., Aug. 25, 1813. 4 pp.

*Bathurst Courier*, Perth, vol. VII, no. 20, Fri., March 5, 1841. 4 pp.; vol. X, no. 13, Tues., Jan. 16, 1844. 4 pp.

*Boston Gazette*, Boston, Mass., vol. XXXIX, no. 44, Mon., Nov. 22, 1813. 2 pp.

*Brockville Recorder*, Brockville, Ontario, vol. XVII, no. 9, Thurs., Feb. 23, 1837. 4 pp.; vol. XVII, no. 10, Thurs., March 2, 1837. 4 pp.

*Canadian Illustrated News*, Montreal, vol. II, no. 16, Sat., Oct. 15, 1870. 16 pp.; vol. V, no. 1, Sat., Jan. 6, 1872. 16 pp.; vol. XV, no. 17, Sat., April 28, 1877. 16 pp.

*Chronicle and Gazette*, Kingston, U.C., vol. XVI, Sat., Sept. 13, 1834. 2 pp.; no. 85, Sat., May 2, 1840, 2 pp.; no. 86, Sat., May 9, 1841. 4 pp.; vol. XXVIII (vol. I), Wed., March 24, 1847. 4 pp.; vol. XXXIII, no. 18, Sat., April 27, 1850. 4 pp.

*Chronicle and News*, Kingston, Canada, vol. XXXVIII, no. 47, Fri., Aug. 29, 1856. 4 pp.

*Christian Guardian*, Feb. 1, 1837. Pp. 51-2.

*Correspondent Advocate*, Toronto, vol. III, no. 156, Thurs., Nov. 12, 1835. 4 pp.

*The Daily Leader*, Toronto, Ontario, Fri., June 12, 1874. 2 pp.

*The Daily News*, Kingston (Canada), vol. XIII, no. 208, Thurs., June 9, 1864. 4 pp. 2 copies; vol. XXIII, no. 295, Thurs., Sept. 24, 1874. 4 pp.

*Hampden Federalist*, Springfield, Mass., vol. VII, no. 46, Thurs., Nov. 12, 1812. 4 pp.; vol. VII, no. 50, Thurs., Dec. 10, 1812. 4 pp.; vol. X, no. 28, Thurs., July 13, 1815. 4 pp.

*Hampden Patriot*, Springfield, Mass., vol. I, no. 20, Thurs., May 13, 1819. 2 pp.; vol. IV, no. 18, Wed., May 1, 1822. 4 pp.

*Kingston Spectator*, Kingston, Ont., no. 2, Tues., Jan. 22, 1833. Pp. 5-8.

*La Minerve*, Montreal, Que., vol. X, no. 65, Sept. 26, 1836. 4 pp.

*The London Free Press*, London, C.W., vol. VII, no. 1934, Thurs., Sept. 5, 1861. 4 pp.

*The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, England, no. 4276, Thurs., Jan. 30, 1783. 4 pp.; no. 4280, Tues., Feb. 4, 1783. 4 pp.; no. 4283, Fri., Feb. 7, 1783, 4 pp.; no. 4284, Sat., Feb. 8, 1783. 4 pp.; no. 4289, Fri., Feb. 14, 1783, 4 pp.; no. 4290, Sat., Feb. 15, 1783. 4 pp.

*The Morning Freeman*, Saint John, N.B., vol. XII, no. 64, July 5, 1862. 4 pp.

*The Morning Journal*, Halifax, N.S., vol. I, no. 16, Mon., May 22, 1854. 4 pp.

*National Intelligencer*, Washington City, vol. XIV, no. 215, Tues., May 31, 1814. 4 pp.

*New York Observer*, New York, vol. XXII, no. 6, Sat., Feb. 10, 1844. 4 pp.

*New York Spectator*, vol. XXVII, Tues., March 2, 1824. 4 pp.; vol. XXX, Fri., May 18, 1827. 4 pp.

The Niagara *Mail*, Niagara, Canada West, vol. IV, no. 31, Wed., Oct. 31, 1849.  
4 pp.

Peterborough *Review*, Peterborough, Canada West, vol. IX, no. 36, Fri., Sept. 6, 1861. 4 pp.

Quebec *Gazette*, Quebec, vol. 102, Tues., June 21, 1864. 16 pp.; vol. 103, Fri., June 23, 1865. 4 pp.

The Quebec *Mercury*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 47, Thurs., April 21, 1842. 4 pp.

*The Statesman*, Brockville, U.C., vol. I, no. 19, Sat., March 11, 1837. 4 pp.

*The Statesman*, Kingston, Canada, vol. VIII, no. 3, Wed., Dec. 13, 1843. 4 pp.

*The Sun*, London, no. 2679, Wed., April 22, 1801. 4 pp.; no. 8229, Mon., Jan. 18, 1819. 4 pp.

Toronto *Morning Visitor*, or *Two-Penny Magazine*, Toronto, vol. I, no. 5, Thurs., July 30, 1835. 4 pp. and 4 page cover (2 pp. printed).

*Upper Canada Herald*, Kingston, U.C., vol. XIX, no. 945, Tues., April 11, 1837; portion of the number for April 18, 1837 (Report re Crown Lands).

*Universal Gazette*, Washington City, vol. XI, no. 840, Fri., March 4, 1814. 4 pp.

*Robert E. Lee Archives.* The Board of Trustees of Washington and Lee University has recently established the Robert E. Lee Archives as a division of the new Cyrus Hall McCormick Library. It is proposed to make the school, which Washington endowed and to which Lee gave the last five years of his life, a national repository of source material concerning the entire life of Robert E. Lee. Washington and Lee already owns four thousand manuscript items concerning Lee's life, and its collection of Lee books, pamphlets, and pictures is large. The most improved methods of cataloguing manuscripts have been adopted.

To aid in this work a national advisory committee of prominent scholars and public men is being formed. Dr. W. G. Bean is chairman of the local committee, and Dr. Allen W. Moger of the history faculty has been made Lee Archivist. He will attempt to locate and secure other original manuscripts, photostats, and copies of original Lee items. It is particularly hoped that the numerous admirers of General Lee who possess individual letters to or from him will realize that the Robert E. Lee Archives at Lexington, Virginia, is the appropriate place where they will be preserved for posterity.

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